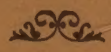
THE SERMONS OF JOHN DONNE



EDITED WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND CRITICAL APPARATUS BY GEORGE R. POTTER AND EVELYN M. SIMPSON

VOLUME I

Price, $7.50

THE SERMONS OF JOHN DONNE
Volume I

Edited by GEORGE R. POTTER
AND EVELYN M. SIMPSON

It is impossible to read the sermons of John Donne without realizing that he was essentially a poet—a poet turned preacher, "who when he was debarred from ordinary forms of verse threw his energy into weaving new rhythms and harmonies in prose.... He could not express the truth of himself save in poetry, or in a rhythmical prose which had all the essentials of poetry."

In the amazing variety of his sermons Donne's great gifts shine forth. He was a noble poet in a noble age; and when, at the age of forty-two, he was ordained, he brought to his new calling his great erudition, an incandescent wit, profound insight into the motives of man, and a deep sense of humility.

This initial volume contains nine of his sermons—probably the earliest that survive—and in them the reader can follow Donne's development from near the beginning of his clerical career through three years, to the spring of 1618, by which time he had won fame and acquired ease in his medium as well as a mastery of it.

The first sermon, preached in 1615 at Greenwich, displays the dry ingenuity of his earlier prose; the ideas are developed by logic and paradox rather than by an appeal to the emotions of his hearers. The second sermon, one of the most pungent and penetrating discourses that Donne ever wrote, shows his early preoccupation with sin and damnation. Perhaps the best of his early sermons, the fifth, was preached for Queen Anne in December, 1617, four months after the death of

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Volume I.

The Sermons of John Donne

FRONTISPIECE OF *LXXX Sermons*
(1640)

THE SERMONS OF JOHN DONNE

Edited, with Introductions and Critical Apparatus, by

GEORGE R. POTTER
and
EVELYN M. SIMPSON

In Ten Volumes

I.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
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1953

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Preface

THAT there ought to be a complete edition of the extant sermons of John Donne, whose verse and prose alike have had such a remarkable renaissance in the twentieth century and have been such a vital influence on this century's poets and prose writers, is an assertion that surely needs no argument. The glory of his prose at its best is very different from that of his verse, but is equal to it; and there can hardly be question that his best prose is in his sermons.

We, the present editors, decided to prepare such an edition in collaboration, because of two initial beliefs: first, that a task of this sort can be much more effectively accomplished by two workers, who can criticize, check, and complement each other, than by any single scholar working in isolation; and, second, that there are special advantages to undertaking this particular project through transatlantic coöperative effort, since of the original Donne material—manuscripts and early printed editions alike—some is deposited in the United States and some in England, and since interest in Donne himself is equally keen in both countries.

It seemed at first that the best procedure, considering the distance between Oxford and Berkeley, would be to divide quite rigidly the different tasks involved in preparing the projected edition; and we began our work with the idea that one of us would be mainly responsible for certain specific introductory studies and for the editing of about half the total number of sermons, and the other of us for the remaining introductory discussions and the other half of the sermons. As the work has progressed, however, much of our original division of responsibility has broken down, and our collaboration has become more thoroughgoing—a development which has been very pleasant to us and we hope advantageous to the work itself. Mail, especially air mail, has proved a far more effective means of communication

than seemed at first likely; and, thanks to generous financial aid from the Modern Language Association of America and the American Council of Learned Societies, we were able to confer personally, in Oxford and London, for a number of weeks in the summer of 1949. Some division of labor, to be sure, has inevitably continued; E. M. Simpson is mainly responsible for the preparation of the text and the notes to the later sermons, and G. R. Potter for similar preparation of the earlier. Nevertheless, the initial editing for some of the earlier sermons is the work of E. M. S., and that for some of the later ones the work of G. R. P.; and each of us has checked the other's editing and studied all the sermons, earlier and later alike. As for the introductory material in this first volume, it is, in its final form, so completely the work of both editors that neither one is now certain—or cares to be so—which sentences or paragraphs he or she was originally responsible for. We consider ourselves, then, as jointly responsible throughout this edition for whatever faults or merits it may prove to have.

In our last volume we propose to include a complete list, so far as we can determine them, of variants in different "states" of the seventeenth-century editions, and to discuss various important questions such as those concerning Donne's knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, his use of the Vulgate and other Latin translations, his use of the Great Bible, the Geneva Bible, and the Authorized Version, his indebtedness to the Fathers and to medieval and Renaissance commentators. It is impossible, owing to the large number of references needed, to handle these matters until all the sermons are available to the reader with their new numbering in our edition.

Many organizations and many persons have been of great help to us, in different ways, and we are more deeply grateful to them than we can express in such brief form as this preface permits.

The Modern Language Association of America, through its Committee on Research Activities, and the American Council of Learned Societies, through its Pacific Coast Committee for the

Humanities, by most generous grants of funds—generous not only in amounts, but also in the spirit with which they were made—enabled G. R. Potter to go to England in the summer of 1949 and thus gave us the inestimable advantage of being able to talk together at length and without haste.

Newnham College, Cambridge, England, by electing E. M. Simpson to a Research Fellowship from 1946 to 1949, made a most generous contribution to the progress of the edition.

Mr. Wilfred Merton most courteously and generously made available to us the two priceless manuscripts of Donne's sermons that are in his possession, depositing them for several months in the British Museum so that we could use them freely and at our leisure.

The librarians and staffs of many institutional and public libraries have extended to us all courtesies and have again and again, readily and with complete good nature, helped us find information, besides permitting us to consult the books or manuscripts in their collections. We wish particularly to mention the staffs of the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Cambridge University Library, St. Paul's Cathedral Library, London, Dr. Williams's Library in London, Sion College Library, London, and the Library of Lincoln's Inn; and, in the United States, the staff of the University of California Library (whose patience and readiness to help G. R. Potter have been severely tried and proved to be inexhaustible), and those of the University of Cincinnati Library, the Clark Library, the Library of Congress Rare Books Division, the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Harvard, Huntington, New York Public, and Newberry libraries, the Sutro Library of the State of California, and the Yale Library. We are particularly indebted to the Harvard University Library for permission to use the Dobell Manuscript as our primary source for the text of the sermon on *Psalms* 38.9.

The Oxford University Press has permitted us to reprint some passages from Mrs. Simpson's *Study of the Prose Works of John Donne,* second edition, 1948; the Nonesuch Press has permitted

us to reprint some sentences from the introduction to Donne's *Sermon of Valediction,* London, 1932; the Editor of the *Philological Quarterly* has permitted us to reproduce some part of an article by E. M. Simpson (in Vol. XXI, No. 2, pp. 237–239 of that periodical), entitled "A Donne Manuscript in St. Paul's Cathedral Library"; and the Secretary of the London Topographical Society has permitted us to reproduce the Society's publication of Hollar's view of Greenwich for one of the illustrations in our first volume.

We wish to express our special appreciation to Dr. Geoffrey L. Keynes, not only for permission to reproduce some statements from the second edition of his *Bibliography of the Works of John Donne,* but also for the indispensable help he has given us, through that excellent volume, and personally.

The officials at Somerset House in London and at the District Probate Registry in Peterborough were ready and courteous in making their records available. Mr. E. A. B. Barnard, Keeper of the Ely Episcopal Records, not only made the priceless documents in his charge freely accessible, but gave personal and friendly help far beyond the requirements of ordinary courtesy.

Colonel Goodwyn L. Archer of Ely, Professor J. M. Cline of the University of California, P. J. Dobell, Esq., the Rev. Canon R. B. Fellowes, Professor J. Milton French of Rutgers University, Miss H. L. Gardner, Fellow of St. Hilda's College, Oxford, Professor William M. Green of the University of California, Mr. John Howell of San Francisco, the Rev. John Humphries of Newmarket, Professor B. H. Lehman of the University of California, Professor Maynard Mack of Yale University, the Rev. V. H. E. Ritson of Ely, Dr. Percy Simpson, Miss Gladys Scott Thomson of London (who has explored so brilliantly the history of the Russell family), and the staff of Sotheby and Company of London—all have given us information, suggestions, encouragement, or other help to make the completion of our work possible.

Our debt to scholars and editors who have previously published books and articles about the sermons, or editions of some part of them, is great and self-evident. To be more specific in our acknowledgment would be to turn our preface into a working bibliography.

Our gratitude goes out to the numerous persons connected with the University of California Press who have done so much to make this edition as attractive and accurate as possible; and especially to Harold A. Small, Editor, for his wise and friendly advice.

Miss Margo Skinner, research assistant to G. R. Potter for the past several years, has saved us, by her faithful, accurate, and highly intelligent accomplishment of innumerable vital tasks, many hundreds of hours' work, has contributed materially to whatever degree of accuracy the text and notes have, and has enabled us to complete the edition far sooner than otherwise we could have done.

To all these friends and fellow students who have made our work possible, we wish to express our warmest gratitude and thanks.

THE EDITORS

EDITORS' NOTE: Since this volume went to the publishers, Dr. Geoffrey L. Keynes has discovered an additional seventeenth-century manuscript containing eight of Donne's sermons. We have, at Dr. Keynes's suggestion, decided to call this the Ellesmere Manuscript (*E*). An account of it and of its significance will be given in Volume II.

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A LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN INTRODUCTIONS AND CRITICAL APPARATUS

A Ashmole Manuscript 781, Bodleian Library, Oxford (for description see p. 45 of the present volume)

Al Alford's six-volume edition of Donne's *Works,* 1839 (for description see pp. 28–29 of the present volume)

conj. Conjecture

corr. Corrected state

D The Dowden Manuscript (for description see pp. 36–38 of the present volume)

Dob Manuscript formerly in the possession of Mr. P. J. Dobell, now in the Harvard College Library with call number "Nor 4506"

Edd. Editors of the present edition

F Folio edition (which of the three Folio editions is being referred to, wherever this abbreviation is used, will be clear from the context, or will become clear from a glance at the table of contents for each volume of the present edition. Occasionally the particular Folio is indicated as *"F 80"* for *LXXX Sermons, "F 50"* for *Fifty Sermons,* and *"F 26"* for *XXVI Sermons*)

L The Lothian Manuscript (for description see pp. 38–41 of the present volume)

M The Wilfred Merton Manuscript (for description see pp. 33–36 of the present volume)

mg. Margin

om. Omitted

P The St. Paul's Cathedral Manuscript (for description see pp. 41–42 of the present volume)

Q Quarto edition (which quarto edition—whether the *Six Sermons* of 1634 or a separate publication within Donne's lifetime—is being referred to at each occurrence will be clear from the context, or will become clear from a glance at the table of contents for each volume of the present edition. Occasionally *Six Sermons* is specifically referred to, as *"Q 6"*)

S *Sapientia Clamitans,* the publication of 1638 containing Donne's Sermon on *Ecclesiastes* 12.1 (for description see pp. 26–27 of the present volume)

General Introductions

I. *On the Bibliography of the Sermons*

One hundred and forty-five of Donne's one hundred and sixty extant sermons[1] appeared in print for the first time in the three folio volumes of 1640, 1649, and 1661, usually referred to respectively as the *LXXX, Fifty,* and *XXVI Sermons.* Although, in 1625, while engaged in revising and writing out a large number of his sermons, Donne had thought of leaving the manuscripts to his son John, he seems to have changed his mind and to have given them, shortly before his death, to Henry King, whom he had asked to become one of his executors. The son, however, claimed and appropriated the manuscripts, evidently under circumstances that greatly exasperated King, and the three folio volumes all appeared under the auspices of the younger John Donne. Whether Henry King would have seen to their publication, and whether he would have made a better editor, are unanswerable questions, though, in spite of Gosse's opinion,[2] we are tempted to say "Yes" to them both. At least, the world should be grateful to John Donne the younger for having seen to it that so many of the sermons were printed, whatever may have been his motives in doing so and whatever strictures have to be made concerning his judgment and care in some parts of his task of editing; for otherwise much of Donne's best prose might conceivably have been lost.

The *LXXX Sermons* of 1640 is the best as well as the earliest of the three Folios: a magnificent volume, beautifully printed. It contains

[1] In *XXVI Sermons* there seem to be two separate sermons numbered as 10; but the division into two probably does not go back to Donne himself—see *post,* p. 8 of this section,—and in the present enumeration, as well as the present edition, the sermon is considered as a single unit. The total of 160 counts this sermon as one, and includes the sermon on *Psalms* 38.9, which did not appear in print in the seventeenth century.—Some facts relating to the circumstances under which the Folios were published, additional to those given in the present section of the General Introductions, will be found in § III, "On the Text," pp. 46–50.

[2] Edmund Gosse, *Life and Letters of John Donne* (1899), II, 300.

LXXX
SERMONS

PREACHED
BY THAT LEARNED AND
REVEREND DIVINE,

IOHN DONNE,

Dr IN DIVINITY,
Late Deane of the Cathedrall
Church of S. PAULS *London.*

LONDON,
Printed for RICHARD ROYSTON, in Ivie-lane, and RICHARD
MARRIOT in S. *Dunſtans* Church-yard in Fleetſtreet.
M DC XL.

TITLE PAGE OF *LXXX Sermons*
(1640)

an engraving by Merian of a bust of Donne, a dedicatory epistle to King Charles from John Donne junior, Izaak Walton's *Life and Death of Dr. Donne* in its earliest published form, a copy of the epitaph on Donne's monument in St. Paul's, and a table of the sermons with their texts, followed by the *Imprimatur* dated "Novemb. 29. 1639." The sermons are grouped according to the festivals on which they were delivered, or the places, such as Whitehall or St. Paul's, at which they were preached. They are followed by an elaborate set of tables dealing with the passages of Scripture, the authors, and the principal subjects discussed in the sermons. On the last page there is a very short list of errata.

The collation is: A–B^{6} C^{4}, B–Z Aa–Zz Aaa–Zzz Aaaa^{6}, Bbbb^{4}, Cccc^{8}; 442 leaves.

A1 blank; A2 title; A3–A4 recto *Epistle Dedicatorie;* A4 verso blank; A5–C1 recto *The Life and Death of Dr. Donne;* C1 verso Donne's epitaph; C2–C4 recto list of texts; C4 verso *Imprimatur;* B1 subtitle to *Sermons Preached upon Christmas-day;* B2–Aaaa6 (pp. 1–826) sermons and subtitles; Bbbb1–Cccc7 tables of references, authors, and contents (errata at bottom of Cccc7 verso); Cccc8 blank.

The frontispiece is inserted between A1 and A2. An elaborate monumental design surrounds a bust of Donne enclosed in an oval. A text is inscribed on the upper part, and on the lower part are the words "LXXX SERMONS . . . S^{t} PAVLES LONDON" as given in the title. Below is the name of the engraver, "M Merian Iun." Two states of this engraving are known. The earlier and rarer, as described above, is found in copies at the British Museum Print Room, the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, the library of Jesus College, Oxford, and the libraries of Harvard and Yale universities. The later state, found in the majority of copies, has the words "Ætat: 42" inscribed at the sides of the oval, and, on the background above the head, *"A,"* partly erased.[3] The portrait in the oval appears to have been copied from the

[3] The information in this paragraph is derived from Keynes, *Bibliography of . . . Donne,* 2d ed., 1932, p. 27, except that we have added the mention of copies at Jesus College, Oxford, and at Harvard and Yale. Keynes states that one of his own copies of the volume, and a copy owned by John Hayward, also show this rare state of the frontispiece.

Fifty
SERMONS

PREACHED

BY

THAT LEARNED AND REVEREND DIVINE,

JOHN DONNE,

Dr IN DIVINITY,

Late Deane of the Cathedrall

Church of S. PAULS *London.*

The Second Volume.

LONDON,

Printed by *Ja. Flesher* for *M. F. J. Marriot*, and *R. Royston.*

MDC XLIX.

TITLE PAGE OF *Fifty Sermons*
(1649)

miniature by Isaac Oliver, now at Windsor Castle in the collection of Queen Elizabeth II.[4]

The title runs thus: "LXXX SERMONS PREACHED BY THAT LEARNED AND REVEREND DIVINE, IOHN DONNE, Dr IN DIVINITY, Late Deane of the Cathedrall Church of S. PAULS *London*. [device between rules] LONDON, Printed for RICHARD ROYSTON, in Ivie-Lane, and RICHARD MARRIOT in S. *Dunstans* Church-yard in Fleetstreet. M DC XL."

The book was entered in the Stationers' Register on January 3, 1639/1640, when the right of publication was assigned to "Master fflesher and Master Marriott." On February 19 of the same year "a full third parte or share" in the book was assigned in the Register to Richard Royston, whose name appears with Marriot's on the title page. The name of the printer is not given there, but the device is that belonging to Miles Fletcher or Flesher,[5] to whom a share of the right of publication had been given. The book was printed very carefully, and misprints are comparatively rare. Signature Ii2 is misprinted as I2. Pages 73, 622, 642, and 653 are misnumbered as 75, 623 (followed by the right 623), 632, and 643, respectively. In some copies, pages 580, 581 are misnumbered as 578, 579 (followed by the right 582). In nearly all copies, page 201 is misnumbered as 120; but in one of the two copies at the Huntington Library[6] this last error has been corrected.

The *Fifty Sermons* of 1649 was intended as a companion volume to the *LXXX Sermons,* as appears from the fact that it was entered in the Stationers' Register on February 19, 1639/1640 to Fletcher, Marriot, and Royston, immediately after the entry which assigned a third share of the *LXXX Sermons* to Royston. It was described there as "a booke called *ffifty Sermons* penned and preached by the reverend John Dunne doctor : D : and late deane of Saint Pauls," and below are the words "with his picture and the tables and all the six score and ten *sermons*." When the book at last appeared, in 1649, it contained a dedicatory epistle from the younger Donne to Basil, Earl of Den-

[4] In several copies of this Folio the frontispiece is missing; in, for example, the Izaak Walton copy at the Huntington Library, a copy in the University of California Library, and a copy in the possession of G. R. Potter.

[5] McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices,* no. 308.

[6] The call number of this copy in the Huntington catalogue is 19791.

XXVI.

SERMONS

PREACHED

BY THAT

Learned and Reverend

DIVINE

John Donne,

Doctor in Divinity,

Late DEAN of the Cathedral Church of St. *Pauls, London.*

The Third Volume.

LONDON:
Printed by *T. N.* for *James Magnes* in *Russel-street* near the *Piazza* in *Covent-Garden*,
1661.

TITLE PAGE OF *XXVI Sermons*
(1661)

bigh, and a shorter one to Whitlock, Keeble, and Leile, Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, in which he states that the reward which had been promised him "many years since" for the publication of these sermons had lately been conferred on him "under the authority of the Great Seale."

The collation is: A^4 B–Z Aa–Qq^6 Rr^4; 236 leaves.

A1 title; A2 dedication; A3 recto epistle to the Lords Commissioners; A3 verso–A4 table of the texts of the sermons; B1–Rr4 (pp. 1–289, 300–474) sermons.

The title runs thus: "Fifty SERMONS, PREACHED BY THAT LEARNED AND REVEREND DIVINE, JOHN DONNE, D^r IN DIVINITY, Late Deane of the Cathedrall Church of S. PAULS *London*. [rule] *The Second Volume*. [device between rules] LONDON, Printed by *Ja. Flesher* for *M.F. J. Marriot,* and *R. Royston*. M DC XLIX."

Signature T3 is misprinted as S3. Pages 28, 89, 150, 151, 165, and 212 are misnumbered as 24, 98, 158, 159, 166 (followed by the right 166), and 312,[7] while the numbers 290–299 are omitted in the pagination. In some copies (e.g., the copy in the Clark Library of the University of California at Los Angeles), pages 206, 215, and 278 are also misnumbered, as 203, 216, and 288, respectively; while in other copies (e.g., those in the Huntington and University of California libraries), some or all of these errors are corrected. Keynes[8] notes that one of the two copies in the Cambridge University Library has A3 verso blank and lacks A4, which may indicate an earlier issue of the volume.

The book is moderately well printed, though not as carefully as the *LXXX Sermons* had been. It has no list of errata. Certain corrections of the text were made while the book was passing through the press, especially in sheets Nn, Oo.[9]

The *XXVI Sermons* is a smaller folio than its two predecessors, most copies measuring about 11½ by 7½ inches, as compared with the

[7] The copy in the library of Brasenose College, Oxford, has p. 212 correctly numbered.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

[9] The copy in the Library of the University of California has the uncorrected state of O03 verso and O04 recto; also of Qq2 verso, and Nn6 verso. The copy belonging to E. M. Simpson, one of the present editors, has the uncorrected state of Nn5 verso.

page measurement of 13¼ by 8⅞ inches of the earlier volumes. At least five large-paper copies,[10] however, are known, uniform in size with the *LXXX* and the *Fifty Sermons,* though this is achieved by giving the page unusually wide margins. The book contains twenty-three sermons, not twenty-six as stated on the title page, for No. 16 is a repetition of No. 5 with an alteration in the date as given in the heading, and No. 17 is a repetition of No. 3, and what appear to be two sermons both numbered 10 are actually two parts of a single sermon.

The collation is extremely irregular, as will be seen from its formula: A^2 B^2 $[*]^2$, B–Q, S–Z Aa–Mm^4 Nn Oo^6 Pp–Zz Aaa–Ccc^4 Ddd^6 Fff Ggg^4; 212 leaves.

A1 title; A2 dedication to Charles II by John Donne junior; B1–B2 recto *To the Reader;* B2 verso letter from the Bishop of Peterborough to John Donne junior (dated July 20, 1640); [*] 1–[*] 2 table of texts of the sermons; B1–Ggg4 recto (pp. 1–411) sermons; Ggg4 verso blank.

The pagination is very faulty. Numbers 121–128, 233–240, and 393–396 are omitted. Numbers 177–183 and 285–296 are used twice.[11] Pages 209, 244, 245, 349, and 363 are wrongly numbered as, respectively, 109, 236, 237, 333, and 361. In some copies 216, 356, and 410 are misnumbered as 214, 340, and 404. It is noteworthy that the absence of R^4 corresponds with the omission of 121–128 in the pagination. Since Sermon 8 ends on page 120, and the sermon which follows it immediately on the page numbered as 129 is called "Sermon 10" both in the title and in the margin, it may be surmised that another sermon numbered as 9 should have occupied pages 121–128 (R^4), but was for some reason omitted while the volume was passing through the press. The requisite number of sermons was made up by dividing Sermon 10 into two, with separate headings, though both parts are numbered as 10.

There are some irregularities in the signatures of the Pp–Tt sheets.

[10] Keynes mentions the Harvard College copy (with the arms of Charles II on the binding, and his autograph initials on the flyleaf), the St. Paul's Cathedral copy, Canon Beeching's copy (now in the possession of Dr. Keynes), and the late Charles Whibley's copy. To these must be added a large-paper copy in the possession of E. M. Simpson.

[11] The first numbers from 285 to 296 are printed in parentheses; the second series, not.

Pp1 appears in some copies as Ppp, followed by Pp2 (which is itself mislettered in at least one copy, as Aa2). Qq1 and 2 are marked as Qqq and Qqq2. The Rr sheet begins correctly with Rr, followed, however, by Rrr2. Ss1 and 2 appear as Sss and Sss2, and Tt2 as Ttt2. Still another irregularity is the appearance of Ddd_3 as D_3.

The title page is found in three different forms. The earliest, according to Keynes, runs thus: "XXVI. SERMONS PREACHED BY THAT Learned and Reverend DIVINE John Donne, Doctor in Divinity, Late DEAN of the Cathedral Church of St. *Pauls, London.* [rule] *The Third Volume.* [device between rules] LONDON: Printed by T. N. for *James Magnes* in *Russel-street* near the *Piazza* in *Covent-garden.* $166\frac{0}{10}$."[12]

In certain copies[13] there is found a cancel title page: "XXVI. SERMONS (Never before Publish'd) PREACHED BY THAT Learned and Reverend DIVINE . . . [as above] LONDON. Printed by *Thomas Newcomb,* and are to be sold at the several Book-Sellers-shops in *London,* and at *Westminster-Hall.* 1661."

A different cancel title page is found in a very few copies.[14] It runs thus: "XXVI. SERMONS PREACHED BY THAT Learned and Reverend DIVINE . . . [as above] LONDON, Printed at the Charge of Dr. *Donne,* and are to be sold at his House in *Covent-Garden,* neare the *Fleece-Tavern;* at the several Book sellers-shops in *London* and at *Westminster-hall,* 1661."

The title page is followed by a dedicatory epistle to Charles II by John Donne junior, and an address *To the Reader,* followed by a "Postscript" which is full of misstatements, such as "By the Dates of

[12] The printed date, "$166\frac{0}{10}$," is curious, and presumably is a misprint of some sort; it occurs in all copies that we know of this title page. Keynes interprets it as signifying 1660; but it could equally well be meant for 1661, and we consider the latter date as far more likely, considering the two cancel title pages described below.

[13] Keynes (*op. cit.,* p. 41) enumerates the British Museum copy, his own copy, and one belonging to R. Jennings. The libraries of Sion College, London, and of the University of Chicago also possess copies.

[14] Keynes (*op. cit.,* p. 43) mentions only two: his own, and one offered for sale by P. J. Dobell in 1926. We have found another in Dr. Williams's Library, London.

these *Sermons,* the Reader may easily collect, that although they are the last that are published, they were the first that were Preached; and I did purposely select these from amongst all the rest, for, being to finish this Monument, which I was to erect to his Memory, I ought to reserve those materials that were set forth with the best Polish." It is true that the volume contains eight of Donne's earliest sermons, but on the other hand it contains several belonging to the middle period, and three of his last, including the very last, *Deaths Duell,* which had already been published.

The typography of this folio is not uniform throughout. Sermons 1–12 (B–Aa^4) are printed throughout in a fairly thick type. Sermon 12 ends on Aa4 recto, the last few lines being printed in a very small italic type not used elsewhere in these pages. Aa4 verso is blank and has no pagination. Aa4 recto is correctly paged as 183, but after the blank Aa4 verso the pagination of Bb returns to 177 (already used for Aa1), repeats 177 for Bb1 verso, and continues with 179–183 for Bb2–4. The type used in the sheets Bb–Ll is thinner than that used in B–Aa. Clearly there was some dislocation between Aa4 and Bb, and the most likely explanation is that while Sermons 1 to 12 were being printed on sheets B–Aa by one press, Sermons 13–18 were simultaneously being printed on sheets Bb–Ll by another. Sermon 12 ended on Aa4 recto, and Aa4 verso was left blank, because Sermon 13, which was to follow it, had already been printed on Bb, and there was also a miscalculation over the pagination.

The division of the printing between thick and thin types continues throughout the latter part of the volume. It is significant that the omission of sheet Eee and the numbers 393–396 in the pagination between Sermons 25 and 26 corresponds with a change from the thick to the thin type. Here again there was lack of coördination.[15]

[15] In the First Folio of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays (1647) a postscript at the end of the preliminary leaves states, "After the *Comedies* and *Tragedies* were wrought off, we were forced (for expedition) to send the *Gentlemens* Verses to severall Printers, which was the occasion of their different Character," i.e., type. The Ben Jonson Folio of 1692 appears to have been printed on three presses simultaneously; the printers miscalculated the length of the copy, so that sheets Mm, Nn (pp. 265–280), and Ccc 3–4, Ddd (pp. 383–392), had to be omitted (Jonson, ed. Herford-Simpson, IX, 131–132).

The book was very carelessly printed, and has a large number of errors. Some of these were corrected while it was passing through the press, and collation of a number of copies has shown that more than a hundred misprints were corrected in sheets L, O, T, U, X, Y, Aa, Cc, Dd, Ff, Gg, Ii, Kk, Nn, Oo, Pp, Ss, Yy, Bbb, and Ggg. Aa alone contains fifty-five corrections. In the Bodleian copy, page 200 (Dd4 verso) lacks ten words, approximately a line of print, which have been inserted in all other copies examined by the present editors. In a second state found in the British Museum, Cambridge University Library, and Sion College Library copies these words have been inserted, but certain other errors have not been corrected. In the final state, found in the large-paper copies in St. Paul's Cathedral Library and the library of E. M. Simpson, and the small copy in Dr. Williams's Library, these errors have been corrected, in addition to the insertion of the missing words.[16]

John Sparrow has suggested[17] that possibly the repetition of Sermons 3 and 5 as Sermons 17 and 16 may be due to the younger Donne's possession of two different copies of each of these sermons. The contents of *LXXX Sermons* and *Fifty Sermons* had probably been arranged by Donne himself. But the arrangement of *XXVI Sermons* is so chaotic that it seems likely that John Donne junior was tempted by the Restoration in 1660 to make a hasty bid for preferment by issuing another volume of his father's sermons. The Lothian, Dowden, and St. Paul's MSS are examples of manuscript volumes into which a number of Donne's sermons have been transcribed, not by his own hand. John Donne junior was the most careless of editors, and if he possessed two manuscript volumes of miscellaneous sermons by his father, he may have failed to notice that two of the sermons appeared in both collections. If the printing was carried on by two different presses, the repetition would not be discovered till the various sections of the work were brought together.

In his introductory note on B2 recto, the younger Donne remarks, "The Impression consists onely of Five hundred, which will some-

[16] A complete list of corrections made while the three Folio volumes were passing through the press will be given in an appendix to Vol. X.

[17] "John Donne and Contemporary Preachers," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association,* XVI, 177.

what advance the Price; but the buyer being at liberty, he can receive no prejudice." This explains the fact that the *XXVI Sermons* is a much rarer volume than the *LXXX* or *Fifty*. Keynes lists fifteen copies, including those with a cancel title page; Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue, 1641–1700* lists four not included by Keynes; and we have traced an additional six.[18]

Several of Donne's sermons were published within his own lifetime. All these appeared first separately; but after the publication of the third they began to be published bound together in single volumes, under the general titles of *Three, Foure,* and *Fiue Sermons vpon speciall occasions.* (The *Sermon of Commemoration of the Lady Danvers,* however, does not occur thus bound with others.) In most of these bound volumes the title pages of one or another issue of the sermons as separately printed are included as subtitles,[19] and the signatures are separate for each sermon. At least two interesting copies exist, also, of separately printed sermons bound together by or for their owners. Keynes describes one such volume in the library of Pembroke College, Cambridge, with Izaak Walton's autograph in it in two places, and containing all the sermons issued in quarto up to 1634.

[18] The total list is as follows (items noted by Keynes and by Wing have the initials "K" and "STC" affixed):

A. Copies with original title page: the Bodleian Library (K, STC), the English School Library, Oxford, the University of Cambridge Library (K, STC), the Coventry Central Library (STC), the libraries of Christ's College, Cambridge (K), St. Paul's Cathedral (K, STC), and Worcester Cathedral (K), the private collections of the late Charles Whibley (K), Geoffrey Keynes (K, STC), Canon Beeching (K), R. Jennings (K), Canon R. Fellowes, and E. M. Simpson, and, in the United States, the libraries of Harvard (K, STC), Yale (STC), and the University of Cincinnati (STC) and the collection of Professor R. C. Bald.

B. Copies with "Printed by Thomas Newcomb . . . 1661" on the title page: the British Museum (K, STC), the library of Sion College, the collections of Keynes (K, STC) and R. Jennings (K), and the library of the University of Chicago (STC).

C. Copies with "Printed at the charge of Dr. Donne" on the title page: Keynes's collection (K), Dr. Williams's Library in London, and a copy offered for sale by P. J. Dobell in 1926 (K).

[19] Except that the general title page is, in most or perhaps all copies, substituted for the subtitle of the first sermon, that on *Judges* 5.20.

Another, and particularly interesting, volume was acquired in February, 1917, by Henry E. Huntington when he purchased the library of Bridgewater House, and is now deposited in the Huntington Library.[20] It contains the first issue of *Deaths Duell,* the Sermon on *Judges* 5.20 (the text misprinted on the title page as *Judges* 20.15), *Encænia,* and *The First Sermon Preached to King Charles.* The volume is bound in calf, and the sides are tooled in blind with a frame of fillets and the crest of the Earl of Ellesmere as a center ornament. On the flyleaf of the Sermon on *Judges* 5.20, and also on the title page, are (written in ink) the initials "FB" four times repeated; on the title page of *Encænia* is the inscription "J Bridgewater ex dono Authoris. 20. Jany. 1623," and on the title page of *The First Sermon Preached to King Charles,* the inscription "J Bridgewater ex dono Authoris," without a date. "FB" are presumably the initials of Frances, wife of John the first Earl of Bridgewater.[21] "J Bridgewater" is obviously the first Earl himself, son of the Sir Thomas Egerton whose secretary Donne once was.[22] We have, then, in this volume, copies of sermons presented by Donne himself to the forty-four-year-old son of his former employer.

The first of Donne's sermons to be published, on *Judges* 5.20, had been preached at Paul's Cross, on September 15, 1622, to explain the King's reasons for issuing, on August 4 of that year, "Directions for Preachers" that had caused a great deal of dissatisfaction and talk among the clergy; and it was published, as well as preached, by royal command. Three issues of this sermon exist. In the first two, the text on the title page is mistakenly given as *Judges* 20.15; in the second, the

[20] For accounts of this famous large purchase, and of the Bridgewater Library itself, see the *Huntington Library Bulletin,* No. 1 (May, 1931), pp. 48–51; Sotheby and Co., auctioneers, *Description of a Renowned Library, with a Detailed Catalogue of Some of the More Valuable among the Magnificent Illuminated Manuscripts and Printed Books Composing It* (London, 1916); and John Payne Collier's two volumes: *A Catalogue, Bibliographical and Critical, of Early English Literature Forming a Portion of the Library at Bridgewater House* (1837), and the *Egerton Papers,* edited for the Camden Society, 1840. No one of these accounts, however, mentions specifically these presentation copies of Donne's sermons.

[21] Cf. Sotheby and Co., *Description of a Renowned Library,* etc., p. iii.

[22] Sir Thomas Egerton died in 1617, as Lord Ellesmere.

errata listed in the first issue have been corrected. The third issue corrects the Scripture reference on the title page.

The title of the earliest issue reads thus: "*A* SERMON VPON THE XV. VERSE OF THE XX. CHAPTER OF THE BOOKE OF IVDGES *Wherein occasion was iustly taken for the Publication* of some Reasons, which his Sacred MAIESTIE had beene pleased to giue, of those Directions for PREACHERS, which he had *formerly sent forth*. Preached at the CROSSE the 15th. of September. 1622. *By* IOHN DONNE, *Doctor of Diuinitie and Deane of Saint* PAVLS, *London*. And now by commandement of his *Majestie* published, as it was then preached. [rule] LONDON Printed by *William Stansby* for *Thomas Iones,* and are to be sold at his shop in the Strand at the blacke *Rauen,* neere vnto Saint *Clements* Church. 1622."

The collation is: A–I⁴ K²; 38 leaves. A1 blank; A2 title; A3–A4 recto dedication TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, *GEORGE,* Marquesse of Buckingham, High ADMIRAL of ENGLAND, &c.; A4 verso Errata; B1–K2 text (pp. 1–68. Page 56 is misnumbered as 58. In the copy of this issue at the Harvard Library, pages 22, 23, and 28 are misnumbered as 24, 22, and 2).

The second issue differs from the first only in the omission of the Errata, which are corrected in the text, and in the accidental omission of two marginal references, one on page 19, the other on page 22 (both in the same forme).

In the third issue, the Scripture reference on the title page is changed to "THE XX. VERSE OF THE V. CHAPTER," and Stansby's name disappears, the material below the rule reading: "LONDON, Printed for *Thomas Jones,*" etc.

This third issue introduced a considerable number of changes from the first and second; not many of them, however, being radical or of any great importance.[23]

Copies[24] of the first issue are in the British Museum (K, STC),

[23] All these changes have been considered in preparing the present edition, and those that have any significance to the determination of a correct text for this sermon are listed in the critical apparatus.

[24] In listing copies of these editions we shall indicate by the letter "K" those which Geoffrey Keynes noted in his *Bibliography of . . . Donne* (2d ed., Cambridge, 1932), by the letters "STC" those noted in *The Short-Title Catalogue, 1475–1640* (London, 1926), and by the letter "B" those

Christ Church, Oxford, St. Paul's Cathedral Library, Dr. Williams's Library in London, and, in the United States, the Harvard (B), Yale (B), Huntington (STC, B), New York Public (STC, B), Union Theological Seminary (B), and Folger Shakespeare (B) libraries, and the library of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore; of the second issue, in the Bodleian (K), the Cambridge University Library (STC), Christ Church, Oxford, the Cosin Library at the University of Durham (STC), and the Harvard (K) and Folger Shakespeare libraries;[25] and of the third issue, in the British Museum (K, STC), the libraries of Exeter Cathedral (K), St. Paul's Cathedral, Jesus College (in *Five Sermons*) and Pembroke College, Cambridge (K), Christ Church, Oxford, and Sion College, the Harvard (K, B), Yale (B), Huntington (STC, B), Boston Athenaeum (B), Folger Shakespeare (B), and University of California libraries, and the Rare Book Room of the Library of Congress.[26]

A sermon on *Acts* 1.8, preached to "The Honourable Company of the Virginian Plantation," was published in 1622, a second edition appearing in 1624. The title page of the first edition reads as follows: "*A* SERMON VPON THE VIII. VERSE OF THE I. CHAPTER OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. *Preach'd* To the Honourable Company of the VIRGINIAN PLANTATION. 13°. *Nouemb.*

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noted in W. W. Bishop's *Checklist of American Copies of "Short-Title Catalogue" Books* (Ann Arbor, 1944). Copies listed with no letter affixed are our own additions to the three above-mentioned published lists. We confine our lists, for the most part, to copies in public and institutional libraries, since books in such libraries—unlike those in private collections—are in relatively permanent locations and can easily be consulted. Copies of these editions which were in various private collections at the times that the *Short-Title Catalogue* and Keynes's *Bibliography* were published are listed in those two publications.

[25] The STC mistakenly lists the Huntington Library as possessing a copy of the second issue. That library possesses copies of the first and third, not the second.

[26] Yale has two copies of this issue. The Folger Library has three separately bound copies, plus two bound in its copies of *Four Sermons* and *Five Sermons*. The title pages are missing from the two Folger copies bound in *Four Sermons* and *Five Sermons,* and from the Library of Congress copy (which is bound in *Five Sermons*); but further collation of the texts proves that all three of the foregoing are of the third issue.

1622. BY IOHN DONNE *Deane of S^t. Pauls, London.* [rule] LONDON. Printed by A. MAT:[27] for THOMAS IONES and are to sold [*sic*] at his Shop in the Strand, at the blacke *Rauen,* neere vnto Saint *Clements* Church. 1622."

The collation is: A–G^4; 28 leaves. A1 blank; A2 title; A3 dedication *To the Honourable Company of the Virginian Plantation;* A4–G2 verso text of sermon (pp. 1–46); G3 recto–G4 recto, Prayer (pp. 47–49; errata at bottom of G4 recto); G4 verso blank.

The title page of the second edition reads (in most copies) thus: "A SERMON VPON THE EIGHTH VERSE OF THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. *Preached* To the Honourable Company of the VIRGINIAN PLANTATION, 13. Nouemb. 1622. BY IOHN DONNE Deane of Saint *Pauls,* LONDON, [rule] LONDON, Printed for Thomas Iones. 1624."

Keynes states that the copy in the Library of Lincoln's Inn reads "VERE" for "VERSE." We can add that the copies in Dr. Williams's Library, London, and the Huntington Library, and one of the two in the Harvard Library,[28] also show this misprint, with the additional variant of "EIGHT" for "EIGHTH." Keynes states also that in most copies occurring in the *Four* and *Five Sermons* the first leaf of the text and the second leaf of the introductory address have been transposed. In the Gosse copy (now belonging to Keynes) and the Huntington Library copy of *Five Sermons* the leaves are in their correct position.

The collation is like that of the first edition, except for the omission of the Errata; but the distribution of the text of sermon and prayer on the pages is slightly different. The two editions vary a great deal in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and italicizing. Each contains misprints that the other does not; and the second corrects in the text the Errata of the first. The punctuation is, on the whole, lighter in the first edition than in the second. No changes are of a sort indicating that Donne himself made them. It is, of course, not impossible that

[27] "A. MAT" stands for Augustin Matthewes (1619–1653).—For an admirable account of the circumstances under which this sermon on Acts 1.8 was preached see Stanley Johnson, "John Donne and the Virginia Company," *ELH* (*Journal of English Literary History*), XIV (1947), 127–238.

[28] The copy separately bound. In the Harvard copy of *Five Sermons* these words on the title page are correctly spelled.

he may have had a share in correcting misprints or making unimportant alterations in punctuation; but it seems far more likely that Thomas Jones's editor or compositor is responsible for them.

Copies of the first edition are in the British Museum (K, STC), the Cambridge University Library (K, STC), the library of Christ Church, Oxford, the Library of Congress (B), the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston (B), and the Huntington (STC, B), Newberry (STC, B), University of Virginia (B), Harvard, Yale, Folger Shakespeare (B), Boston Public, John Carter Brown (B), and New York Public (STC, B) libraries; and of the second edition, in the libraries of Jesus College and Pembroke College, Cambridge (K, STC), Exeter Cathedral (K), and Lincoln's Inn (K), Dr. Williams's Library, the Rare Book Room of the Library of Congress, and the Harvard (K, B), Yale, Williams College (B), Huntington (STC, B), John Carter Brown (B), New York Public (STC, B), Boston Public (B), and Folger (B) libraries.[29]

On Ascension Day, 1623, the new chapel at Lincoln's Inn was dedicated; and Donne, who had had more than a little to do with the raising of funds for that chapel, preached a sermon on the occasion, taking as his text *John* 10.22. The sermon was published in 1623, under the title of "Encænia." It was not reprinted in the Folios, nor by Alford. There seems to have been only a single issue. The title page is as follows: *"Encænia.* THE FEAST OF DEDICATION. CELEBRATED AT LINCOLNES INNE, in a Sermon there vpon Ascen*sion* [*sic*] day, 1623. *At the Dedication of a new Chappell* there, Consecrated by the Right Reuerend Father in God, the Bishop of LONDON. [rule] *Preached by* IOHN DONNE, Deane of S^t^. PAVLS. [rule] LONDON, Printed by AVG. MAT.[30] for THOMAS IONES, and are to bee sold at his Shop in the Strand, at the blacke *Rauen,* neere vnto Saint *Clements* Church. 1623."

The collation is: A^4 B–F^4 G^2; 26 leaves (one leaf missing).[31] A1 title

[29] The Folger has one copy separately bound, one in *Four Sermons,* and one in *Five Sermons.*

[30] Augustin Matthewes.

[31] The first gathering, in all copies known to us, is composed of only three sheets, the first (title page) without signature, the second and third bearing the signatures A2 and A3. Keynes (*op. cit.,* p. 24) states that A4 has been canceled, basing his opinion on the sewing.

A2 dedication TO THE MASTERS OF THE BENCH, AND the rest of the Honourable Societie of LINCOLNES INNE; A3 The Prayer before the Sermon; [A4 canceled]; B1–G1 recto (pp. 1–41) text; G1 verso–G2 blank.

Copies of this edition are in the British Museum (K, STC), the University Library of Cambridge (K, STC), the Bodleian (K, STC), the Cosin Library at Durham (STC), the libraries of Jesus (K), Pembroke (K), St. John's (K), and Trinity (K) colleges at Cambridge, Merton College (K) and Queen's College, Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn (K), Dr. Williams's Library, the Library of Congress, the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston (B), and the Harvard (K, B), Huntington (STC, B), New York Public (STC, B), Boston Public (B), University of Illinois (B), Clark, Yale (B), and Folger Shakespeare (B) libraries.[32]

The First Sermon Preached to King Charles (on *Psalms* 11.3) was published in 1625. It was not reprinted in the Folios, nor by Alford. Its title runs thus: "THE FIRST SERMON PREACHED TO KING CHARLES, At Saint IAMES : 3° April. 1625. [rule] *By* IOHN DONNE, *Deane of* Saint *Pauls,* London. [rule] LONDON, Printed by *A. M.*[33] for THOMAS IONES, and are to bee sold at his Shop at the Signe of the Blacke Rauen in the Strand. 1625."

The collation is: A–H⁴; 32 leaves. A1 blank; A2 title; A3–H4 recto (pp. 1–59) text of sermon (errata at bottom of H4 recto); H4 verso blank.

There are two states of H4 recto. In the earlier there is only one line of errata; in the later there are two lines. The copy in Pembroke College Library, Cambridge, has two lines transposed on E4 verso (p. 36).

Copies are in the British Museum (K, STC), the Bodleian (K, STC), Exeter Cathedral Library (K), St. Paul's Cathedral Library, the libraries of Emmanuel (K, STC), Jesus, Pembroke (K), St. John's (K), and Trinity (K) colleges at Cambridge, Dr. Williams's Library,

[32] Some of these copies are separately bound, some bound in *Three Sermons, Four Sermons,* or *Five Sermons.* The British Museum, the libraries of Merton College, Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn, and the Harvard, Huntington, and Yale libraries possess two copies apiece. The Folger Shakespeare Library has three, one bound separately, and the others in *Four Sermons* and *Five Sermons.*

[33] Augustin Matthewes.

the Rare Book Room of the Library of Congress, and the Huntington (STC, B), University of Virginia (B), Harvard (K, B), New York Public (STC, B), Union Theological Seminary (B), Clark (B), Yale (B), and Folger Shakespeare (B) libraries.[84]

A second sermon preached before King Charles (on *Isaiah* 50.1) was published in quarto in 1626. Its title runs as follows: "A SERMON, PREACHED TO THE KINGS M^tie. AT WHITEHALL, 24. *Febr.* 1625. By IOHN DONNE Deane of Saint *Pauls,* London. [rule] *And now by his Maiestes commandment Published.* [rule] LONDON, Printed for THOMAS IONES, dwelling at the *Blacke Rauen* in the *Strand.* 1626."

The collation is: A–G⁴ H²; 30 leaves. A1 blank; A2 title; A3–A4 dedication "To his sacred Maiestie"; B1–H1 (pp. 1–50) text (errata on H1 verso); H2 blank. Page 24 is wrongly numbered as 26.

Some alterations were made while the edition was passing through the press. Thus on page 30 the margin opposite the last line but one is blank in the Bodleian copy, Christ Church copy A, and the University of California copy, while in Christ Church copies B and C the reference "3.7." is printed in the margin. Again, on page 31 the margin opposite line 2 is blank in the Bodleian copy, Christ Church A, and the University of California copy, while Christ Church copies B and C have "V. 8" in the margin. On the same page the margin opposite line 8 is blank in the Bodleian copy, Christ Church A, and the University of California copy, while Christ Church B and C have the reference "2. 64." On page 37 in the margin between lines 9 and 10 all three Christ Church copies, the Bodleian copy, and the University of California copy have "Esay" with a turned capital "E," while in the copy in Dr. Williams's Library the "E" is correctly printed. Probably an examination of other copies would produce additional variants.

Copies of the edition are in the British Museum (K, STC), the University Library, Cambridge (K, STC), the Bodleian (STC), St. Paul's Cathedral Library, Exeter Cathedral Library (K), the libraries of Jesus College and Pembroke College, Cambridge (K), Sion Col-

[84] The Huntington and Yale libraries possess two copies each. The Folger Library has four copies, two bound separately, one bound in *Four Sermons,* and one in *Five Sermons.* The copy in *Four Sermons* contains the earlier state of H4 recto; the others, the later state. The Harvard Library also has four copies.

lege, London,[35] and Christ Church, Oxford, Dr. Williams's Library, the Library of Congress, the Watkinson Library of Hartford, Connecticut (B), the Harvard (K), Huntington (STC, B), New York Public (STC, B), Boston Public (B), University of California, University of Chicago, University of Cincinnati (B), Clark (B), Union Theological Seminary (B), Texas University, Princeton, Yale (B), and Folger Shakespeare (B) libraries.[36]

The *Three Sermons* of 1623, *Foure Sermons* of 1625, and *Five Sermons* of 1626 (mentioned on p. 12) are merely collections of the editions described above, bound up together with a general title page. The first runs thus: "THREE SERMONS VPON SPECIALL OCCASIONS. [rule] Preached by IOHN DONNE Deane of S^t^ *Pauls* London. [ornament between rules] LONDON, Printed for THOMAS IONES, and are to [*sic*] sold at his Shop in the Strand at the *Blacke Rauen* neere St. *Clements* Church. 1623." The *Foure* and *Five Sermons* are similar, except for the change of THREE to FOVRE and FIVE respectively, of "are to sold" to "are to be sold" in *Foure* and to "are to bee sold" in *Five,* the omission of "Preached," the insertion of the titles of the sermons, and the change of date.

The last of Donne's sermons to be published within his lifetime was his sermon of commemoration of Lady Danvers (formerly Magdalen Herbert), on *II Peter* 3.13. The title of the first edition runs thus: "A SERMON OF COMMEMORATION OF THE Lady *Dāuers,* late Wife of S^r^. *Iohn Dāuers.* [rule] Preach'd at *Chilsey,* where she was lately buried. BY *Iohn Donne* D. of S^t^. *Pauls, Lond.* 1. *Iuly* 1627. [rule] Together with other Commemorations of Her; By her Sonne G. *Herbert.* [rule] LONDON, Printed by *I. H.*[37] for *Philemon Stephens,* and *Christopher Meredith,* and are to be sold at their shop at the golden Lion in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1627."

[35] The copy at Sion College lacks the title page.

[36] The Harvard, Yale, and Huntington libraries possess two copies apiece. The Folger Library has three, two bound separately and one in *Five Sermons.* Christ Church possesses three (lettered A, B, and C, above). One of the two Huntington copies, separately bound, is a presentation copy from Donne to the first Earl of Bridgewater. The copy at the University of Cincinnati is bound with Sermons 2, 3, 4, and 5 of *Six Sermons* (for a more complete description of this copy see *post,* p. 25).

[37] These initials represent John Haviland, who was a printer from 1613 to 1638.

The collation is: A–H^{12} I^{6}; 102 leaves. A1 title; A2–A6 *The prayer before the Sermon;* A7–H7 (pp. 1–170) text; H8 blank; H9–I5 recto (pp. 1–17) *Memoriæ Matris Sacrum* [by George Herbert]; I5 verso–I6 blank.

Copies are in the British Museum (K, STC), the Bodleian (K, STC), Cambridge University Library (K), Merton College, Oxford (K), and St. John's College, Cambridge (K), and in the Harvard (K, B) and Folger Shakespeare (B) libraries. This is the rarest of the editions printed before Donne's death.

Donne's famous last sermon (on *Psalms* 68.20) was published a year after his death, under the following title: "DEATHS DVELL, OR, A Consolation to the Soule, against the dying Life, and liuing Death of the Body. *Deliuered in a Sermon at White Hall, before the* KINGS MAIESTY, *in the beginning of Lent,* 1630. By that late learned and Reuerend Diuine, IOHN DONNE, Dr in Diuinity, & Deane of S. *Pauls,* London. *Being his last Sermon, and called by his Maiesties houshold* THE DOCTORS OWNE FVNERALL SERMON. [ornament] LONDON, Printed by THOMAS HARPER, for *Richard Redmer* and *Beniamin Fisher,* and are to be sold at the signe of the Talbot in Alders-gate street. M. DC. XXXII."

The collation is: A–G^{4}; 28 leaves. A1 signature with ornament; A2 frontispiece; A3 title; A4 *To the Reader* signed R.; B1–G2 recto (pp. 1–43) text; G2 verso blank; G3–G4 recto (pp. 45–47) AN ELEGIE, On Dr *Donne,* An Epitaph on Dr DONNE; G4 verso blank.

The frontispiece, which was engraved by Martin Droeshout, shows the head of Donne in a shroud, after the drawing made at the time of Donne's last illness, as described by Walton (*Life of Donne,* 1670, pp. 75–76). The head is enclosed in an oval, round which are inscribed the words: "EFFIGIES REUERENDISS: UIRI IOHANNES DONNE NUPER ECCLES: PAULINÆ DECANI." Below are the words: "*Corporis hæc Animæ sit Syndon, Syndon Jesu* Amen. *Martin DR* [joined as a monogram] *scup. And are to be sould by* R R *and Ben: ffisher.*"

Copies of this edition are in the British Museum (K, STC), the Bodleian (K, STC), Lincoln Cathedral Library (K), the libraries of Magdalen College, Oxford, and of Jesus (K), St. John's (K), and Trinity (K, STC) colleges, Cambridge, Dr. Williams's Library, the

SIX
SERMONS
UPON SEVERALL
OCCASIONS, PREACHED
before the King, and
elſewhere:

By that late learned & reverend Divine
JOHN DONNE,
Doctour in divinitie, and
Dean of *S. Pauls*,
LONDON.

¶ Printed by the Printers to the
Univerſitie of CAMBRIDGE:

And are to be ſold by *Nicholas Fuſſell* and
Humphrey Moſley, at their ſhop in
Pauls Church-yard.
1634.

TITLE PAGE OF *Six Sermons*
(1634)

Harvard (B), Yale (B), Clark (B), Williams College (B), University of Virginia (B), Huntington (STC, B), and Folger Shakespeare (B) libraries, and the library of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts (B).[38]

The sheets of this first edition of *Deaths Duell* are found bound up with the title page of the second edition (see below) in a copy in the British Museum and also in one in St. Paul's Cathedral Library.

A second edition was published in 1633. The title is as in the first edition except that "learned and Reuerend Diuine" appears as "Learned and Reverend Divine" and "Diuinity, &" as "Divinity, and," while the imprint is "London Printed by B. Alsop, and T. Fawcet, for Beniamin Fisher, and are to be sold at the Signe of the Talbot in Aldersgate-street. M. DC. XXXIII."[39]

Copies of this edition are in Pembroke College, Cambridge (Izaak Walton's copy) (K, STC), and in the Harvard (K, B), Yale (B), Columbia University, Folger Shakespeare (B), Newberry (B), and Huntington (STC, B) libraries.

The collation is: A–F⁴; 24 leaves. The contents are as in the first edition, but they are more closely printed.

In 1634 appeared a quarto volume with the title: "SIX SERMONS UPON SEVERALL OCCASIONS, PREACHED before the King, and elsewhere: By that late learned & reverend Divine JOHN DONNE, Doctour in divinitie, and Dean of *S. Pauls,* LONDON. [ornament within double rules] Printed by the Printers to the *Uni-*

[38] Keynes (*op. cit.,* p. 32) records two copies in the British Museum, and two in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. He also records that a copy owned by the late Sir L. Harmsworth, Bart., had "an extra leaf inserted between A3 and A4, with a dedicatory letter *To his dearest sister Mrs Elizabeth Francis of Brumstead in Norff.,* signed *Rich: Redmer.*" This copy is now in the Folger Library; and the Folger Library possesses also two other copies of the edition.

[39] Keynes describes a copy in his own possession, which has a different setting of the first sheet. The title page has three slight differences in spelling, and the address *To the Reader* "has a different head-piece, and contains several errors." Keynes remarks that "it is not obvious why the alteration should have been made." We suggest that this may be a first state of sheet A, which is earlier than the corrected state found in all other known copies.

versitie of CAMBRIDGE:[40] [single rule] And are to be sold by *Nicholas Fussell* and *Humphrey Mosley,* at their shop in *Pauls Church-yard.* 1634."

The collation is: A–Z⁴; 92 leaves. A1 ornament; A2 title; A3 subtitle, TWO SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE KING CHARLES; A4 recto–F2 recto (pp. 1–37) text of sermon; F2 verso blank; F3 recto subtitle, THE SECOND SERMON PREACHED BEFORE KING CHARLES; F3 verso blank; F4 recto–L3 verso (pp. 1–40) text of sermon; L4 recto subtitle, A SERMON Upon the xix verse of the ii Chapter of HOSEA; L4 verso blank; M1 recto–O4 verso (pp. 1–24) text of sermon; P1 recto subtitle, A SERMON Upon the xliiii verse of the xxi Chapter of MATTHEW; P1 verso blank; P2 recto–S2 verso (pp. 1–26) text of sermon; S3 recto subtitle, A SERMON Upon the xxii verse of the v Chapter of JOHN; S3 verso blank; S4 recto–X3 recto (pp. 1–23) text of sermon; X3 verso blank; X4 recto subtitle, A SERMON Upon the xv verse of the viii Chapter of JOHN; X4 verso blank; Y1 recto–Z4 verso (pp. 1–16) text of sermon.[41]

The six sermons that first appeared in this publication are all included in *Fifty Sermons* as well; but the many variants between the two texts for each sermon make it apparent that the manuscript source was not the same for the two publications.[42] John Hayward conjectures[43] that *Six Sermons* was printed from a manuscript copy of

[40] The Printers to the University were, in 1634, Thomas Buck (appointed in 1625, said to have resigned in 1653) and Roger Daniel (appointed 1632, patent canceled 1650). Cf. Robert Bowes, *Biographical Notes on the University Printers from the Commencement of Printing in Cambridge to the Present Time* (Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications, No. XXVI [Vol. V, No. 4], 1886).

[41] The "Two Sermons preached before King Charles" were both on the same text, *Genesis* 1.26.

[42] Gosse's conjecture (*Life and Letters of John Donne,* II, 306–307) that the University Press began with this quarto volume a "sort of periodical publication of Donne's theological works" is more than doubtful, since the clear evidence that these six sermons came from a MS source different from that used for the later folio publication makes it impossible to suppose that the University Printers had access to the great bulk of Donne's own MSS.

[43] "A Note on Donne the Preacher," in *A Garland for John Donne,* Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 97.

Donne's first draft, owned by some friend of Donne who after Donne's death proposed their publication to the University in order that this work of the famous Dean, whom Cambridge had honored with the doctor's degree, might be preserved and read. (Presumably the extreme reluctance with which the University authorities had awarded the degree to Donne had by this time been forgotten.) The theory that the text of *Six Sermons* comes from a first draft, with the corollary that the variants between it and the text of *Fifty Sermons* represent Donne's own revisions, does not to us seem wholly sound, as we shall try to show later.[44] That the source was a manuscript owned by one of Donne's friends, however, is quite possible and even probable. Whatever the sources of the text, the University Printers were evidently unaware that Donne's own manuscript of these sermons was in his son's hands.

Copies are in the British Museum (K, STC), the Bodleian (STC), the University Library, Cambridge (K, STC), Lincoln Cathedral Library (K, STC), St. Paul's Cathedral Library, the libraries of Jesus (K), Pembroke (K), and Trinity (K) colleges, Cambridge, and of Brasenose, Christ Church (K), and Merton (K) colleges, Oxford, Sion College Library, and the Harvard (K, B), Yale (B), University of California, and Folger Shakespeare (B) libraries.[45]

Keynes notes that copies exist of these sermons bound separately or two together, and thinks that they may have been thus issued. He gives no specific list of copies. The University of Cincinnati possesses a copy containing the second sermon preached before King Charles, and the sermons on *Hosea* 2.19, *Matthew* 21.44, and *John* 5.22, with "A Sermon preached to the King's Majestie at Whitehall, 24. Feb. 1625,"[46] instead of the usual first "Sermon Preached before King Charles," and with the last sermon, on *John* 8.15, missing.[47] The *Short-Title Catalogue* lists copies of the *Two Sermons Preached before King Charles* in the

[44] See *post,* § III, "On the Text," pp. 58–63.

[45] Keynes lists two copies apiece for the Cambridge University Library and the Trinity College Library at Cambridge. The Folger Library has two. Pembroke College, according to Keynes, possesses Izaak Walton's copy with his autograph. The Bodleian copy is bound up with a copy of the 1648 *Biathanatos* belonging to Margaret Bowles, Donne's daughter.

[46] For a description of this publication see *ante,* pp. 19–20.

[47] Bishop lists this copy, but mistakenly states that it contains six sermons.

Huntington Library and in the collection (since sold at auction) of the late J. L. Clawson. The Huntington copy is actually of the first three sermons—that on *Hosea* 2.19 as well as the two preceding it. C. M. Coffin has noted that the Bodleian has a separately bound copy of the sermon on *John* 8.15.[48] We can add that St. Paul's Cathedral Library possesses separately bound copies of the sermons on *Hosea* 2.19 and *Matthew* 21.44, the Folger Library possesses a separately bound copy of the sermon on *John* 8.15, and one of the two sermons preached before King Charles, and the Yale Library has a copy containing the first five of the sermons. In whatever bindings some copies may have been issued, it is clear that the six sermons were planned to appear together, since the signatures are continuous throughout the 92 leaves of the full volume.

Donne's sermon on *Ecclesiastes* 12.1. (the *Sermon of Valediction*) was published in 1638 in a pirated edition without Donne's name. It was the third of three treatises (the first two being sermons by Thomas Jackson, Dean of Peterborough) published under the general title of *Sapientia Clamitans,* with the name of "William Milbourne Priest" on the title page, so that for many years the book was catalogued under his name. The treatises were first assigned to their true authors in 1914 by Dr. Keynes.[49] Professor R. C. Bald has lately drawn attention to a letter from William Milbourne, who was curate of Brancepeth near Durham, to his rector John Cosin, in which Milbourne remarks that he was "mightilie vexed" with his brother Robert, the publisher of the book, "because it is so printed upon the title page as that men being unacquainted with the matter take mee as the authour, and not as the publisher onelie."[50]

The volume is a small octavo, with the following collation: A2 B–X8; 162 leaves. A1 recto blank; A1 verso *Imprimatur.* THOMAS WYKES. *Decemb.* 12, 1637; A2 recto title; A2 verso blank; B1–X8 recto Text (pp. 1–319); X8 verso blank.

The title runs thus: "*Sapientia Clamitans,* WISDOME Crying out to Sinners to return from their evill wayes: CONTAINED IN

[48] *Times Literary Supplement* (London), August 2, 1934, p. 541.

[49] *Bibliography of . . . Donne,* 1st ed., No. 28.

[50] *The Correspondence of John Cosin, D.D.,* publications of the Surtees Society, LII, 221–223, quoted by R. C. Bald, "William Milbourne, Donne, and Thomas Jackson," *Review of English Studies,* XXIV (1948), 321–323.

THREE pious and learned Treatises, Viz. / I. *Of Christs fervent love to bloudy Ierusalem.* / II. *Of Gods just hardning of Pharaoh, when hee had filled up the measure of his iniquitie.* / III. *Of Mans timely Remembring of his Creator.* / Heretofore communicated to some friends in written copies: but now published for the generall good, [rule] by WILLIAM MILBOURNE Priest. [text, *Ezek.* 33.11. in italic between rules] LONDON, Printed by *I. Haviland,* for *R. Milbourne* at the Unicorne neere Fleet-bridge. 1638."

Donne's sermon—No. III on the title page—occupies R7–X8 recto (pp. 253–319) with a subtitle preceding it on R6: "MANS TIMELY REMEMBRING OF HIS CREATOR: OR An exposition delivered in a Sermon upon ECCLESIASTES 12. 1. *Remember now thy Creator in the dayes of thy youth.* [device between rules] LONDON, Printed by JOHN HAVILAND, for ROBERT MILBOURNE. 1638."

The only copies with the title page as given above which have been noted are in the Bodleian Library (K, STC), the Cambridge University Library (K, STC), and the Huntington Library (STC).

Copies[51] of the book are found with a cancel title page: "Wisdome crying out to Sinners to returne from their evill wayes ... London, Printed by M. P. for Iohn Stafford, dwelling in Blackhorse Alley neere Fleetstreet. 1639."

R. C. Bald has shown that Dr. Jackson took occasion in his *Treatise of the Consecration of the Son of God* (1638) to remark that his treatise on *Romans* 9.18 had been "lately published by another without my consent or knowledge," that is, as Sermon II of *Sapientia Clamitans.* This was probably the reason why, on the new title page, the title was slightly altered, the words "By William Milbourne Priest" were omitted, and the imprint was changed to "Printed by M. P. for Iohn Stafford." The initials M. P. stand probably for Marmaduke Parsons, who was a printer in London from 1607 to 1640.

[51] There are copies in Dr. Williams's Library, London (STC), and in the Cambridge University Library (K, STC). In the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, there is a copy with a similar title page with the date 1640 instead of 1639 (K, STC). The Folger Library also possesses a copy of *Sapientia Clamitans.* Since in this copy folios A1, A2, and X8 are wanting, it is impossible to tell which of the two title pages the copy originally had.

The only publication, up to the present, which makes even an approach toward including all of Donne's extant sermons is the six-volume edition entitled *The Works of John Donne,* edited in his younger years by Henry Alford (afterward Dean of Canterbury), and published by John W. Parker, London, in 1839. In books relating to Donne, Alford is rarely given the appreciation due him as a pioneer editor of Donne's prose. Gosse dismisses this work of Alford's as worthless—Gosse's phrase is, "no better than so much paper wasted"[52]—and even Dr. Keynes,[53] while acknowledging Alford's to be a pioneer attempt, dismisses "these modernized texts" as "not of any importance." Alford was, nevertheless, the first person since the seventeenth century to recognize the value of Donne's sermons and to act upon that recognition—he gives Samuel Taylor Coleridge credit for turning his admiration into a definite plan to publish the sermons, but Coleridge in his characteristic fashion[54] had simply asked why Donne's volumes of sermons were not reprinted at Oxford, without doing anything about the matter. Alford's original plan was to edit a four-volume work of selected sermons, mainly for the benefit of readers interested in Donne's expositions of divinity. Having this objective, he not surprisingly decided to modernize spelling and punctuation in his text; and he is (in his Preface) frank in saying that by the time the plan changed to one of publishing the contents of all three seventeenth-century Folios, it was too late to change certain decisions he had made when thinking of the work as selective. Granting the disadvantages of modernization, his text of the sermons is for the most

[52] Gosse, *op. cit.,* I, xi. A reader can easily sense animus behind Gosse's condemnation; and the cause for it is, almost certainly, Gosse's loyalty to Jessopp. Jessopp, though he does not mention Alford, does state (*John Donne,* London, 1897, Preface) that fifty years before the publication of his biography of Donne he had, as an undergraduate at Cambridge, projected a complete edition of Donne's works, but could not find a publisher. Gosse adds the information that the publication of Alford's edition spoiled—at least in publishers' minds—the potential market for Jessopp's; and he felt certain, and with reason, that Jessopp's edition would have been far superior.

[53] Keynes, *op. cit.,* 2d ed., p. 43.

[54] Coleridge, *Table Talk* for June 4, 1830. See also the marginalia in his copy of *LXXX Sermons,* published in *Notes on the English Divines* and also as part of his *Literary Remains.*

part reasonably careful, and frequently (though not always) his emendations and the material in his footnotes are intelligent and valuable.[55] It is, indeed, by means of Alford's edition that a great many students have been able to study the main body of the sermons who could not otherwise have obtained access to more than a very few of them.

Nevertheless, with all due honor to Alford for his initiative and energy, the edition is now obsolete. His text of the sermons does not contain all those that are extant;[56] it omits (in the first volume or two) several passages that Alford thought unsuitable for Victorian readers;[57] it makes frequent changes (attempted emendations) in Donne's wording without informing the reader of the fact; it contains some mistakes in the texts and titles of sermons;[58] and it is, of course, entirely useless to a student interested in the important light thrown upon Donne's meaning and style by the punctuation, spelling, and italicization of the seventeenth-century texts.

Single sermons, or selected groups of sermons, by Donne have been published at various times since the seventeenth century. The following list is representative only, and makes no pretense to being complete.

Stebbing, H., and R. Cattermole (eds.). *The Sacred Classics; or, Cabinet Library of Divinity*. London, 1835, etc. (Contains the sermons on *I Cor.* 15.26, *Acts* 2.36, *Apoc.* 20.6, and *John* 5.28 and 29.)

Pickering, William (ed.). *Devotions by John Donne . . . with Two Sermons*. London, 1840. (The two sermons are *Deaths Duell* and the *Sermon of Commemoration of the Lady Danvers.*)

[55] We have ourselves adopted some of his conjectural emendations, and our critical apparatus then gives due credit to him. It is hard for us to see why Gosse (whose biography of Donne is itself by no means free from errors) condemns the texts and notes so extremely ("His text absolutely swarms with errors. . . . His notes are few, but they are almost always glaringly inaccurate").

[56] The sermons omitted by Alford are those on the following texts: *Psalms* 38.9; *John* 10.22; *Psalms* 11.3; *Isaiah* 50.1.

[57] Alford apologizes for these omissions in his Preface, stating that he made them when he thought that his edition was to be merely selective.

[58] For example, the text of the sermon on *Job* 13.15 is listed in Alford, Vol. IV, as *Job* xxx.15; that of the sermon on *Ecclesiastes* 8.11 is given in Alford, Vol. V, as *Ecclesiasticus* 8.11; and that of the sermon on *Luke* 23.34 is left, in Alford, Vol. V, in the incorrect state in which it appears in *Fifty Sermons,* as Luke 33.24.

Brogden, James (ed.). *Illustrations of the Liturgy and Ritual of the United Church of England and Ireland.* London, 1842. (Contains the sermon on *Hosea* 2.19.)

Tracts of the Anglican Fathers. London, 1842. (Contains the sermon on *Psalms* 32.5.)

Fish, Henry C. *History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence.* New York, 1857. (Contains the sermon on *Acts* 2.36.)

Macleane, Douglas (ed.). *Famous Sermons by English Preachers.* London, 1911. (Contains the sermon on *Mark* 16.16.)

Merton, Wilfred (ed.). *A Sermon upon the Ninth Verse of the Thirty-eighth Psalm Preached by . . . John Donne.* Privately printed, London, 1921. (The first printing of this sermon. Is in photographic facsimile. Fifty copies only.)

Cambridge Plain Texts. Cambridge, 1921. (Contains the sermons on *I Cor.* 15.26 and *Psalms* 63.7.)

Keynes, Geoffrey (ed.). *X Sermons preached by . . . John Donne.* London, 1923. (Contains the sermons on *Psalms* 89.47, *Psalms* 32.9, *Job* 19.26, *Acts* 1.8, *Mark* 16.16, *Isaiah* 7.14, *Psalms* 65.5, *John* 11.21, *Mark* 4.24, and *Psalms* 68.20.)

Simpson, Evelyn M. *A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne* (1st ed., Oxford, 1924). (The sermon on *Psalms* 38.9 is printed as an Appendix.)

The Abbey Classics: *Devotions . . . Together with Death's Duel.* (Introduction by William H. Draper.) London, 1926.

Coffin, Robert P. Tristram, and Alexander M. Witherspoon (eds.). *A Book of Seventeenth-Century Prose,* New York, 1929, etc. (Later editions entitled *Seventeenth-Century Prose and Poetry.*) (The sermons on *I Cor.* 15.26, *I Cor.* 13.12, and *Matt.* 4.18–20.)

Hayward, John (ed.). *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose of John Donne.* London and New York, 1929, 1930, etc. (Contains, in addition to voluminous selected passages from the sermons, the complete text of *Deaths Duell.*)

Simpson, Evelyn M. (ed.). *Donne's Sermon of Valediction at His Going into Germany, Preached at Lincoln's Inn, April 18, 1619.* London, 1932.

Potter, George R. (ed.). *A Sermon Preached at Lincoln's Inn by John Donne on the Ninth Verse of Psalm xxxviii.* Stanford University Press, 1946, 1947.

Brinkley, Roberta F. (ed.). *English Prose of the XVII Century.* New York, 1951. (Contains the sermons on *John* 11.21 ("Preached at the Funerals of Sir William Cokayne") and *Psalms* 68.20 (*Deaths Duell*).

White, Helen C., Ruth C. Wallerstein, and Ricardo Quintana (eds.). *Seventeenth-Century Verse and Prose* (New York, 1951), Vol. I. (Contains the sermon on *I Cor.* 13.12.)

Finally, it may be of interest to list a few of the many publications containing passages extracted from the sermons.

Wilford, John (ed): *Memorials and Characters, together with the Lives of divers Eminent and Worthy Persons. Consisting chiefly of a great Variety of the most celebrated Examples of Piety and Virtue, Among the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, From the Year One Thousand Six Hundred to the present Time. Collected and Compiled From above One Hundred and Fifty different Authors, several scarce Pieces and some Original Manuscripts, communicated to the Editor. . . . London: Printed for John Wilford, at the Three Flower-de-Luces, in the Old Bailey. MDCCXLI.*

(It has, we think, not been noted before that this curious volume contains on pp. 292–293 a number of paragraphs from Donne's sermon at the funeral of Sir William Cokayne, under the following heading: "The Character of Sir Will[m] Cokayne, Kt. and Alderman of London, by John Donne, D.D. and Dean of St. Paul's." Wilford in a footnote explains the derivation of the text as, "From the Sermon preach'd at St. Paul's, December 12, 1626; and printed with his other Sermons, in Folio." He evidently, then, found the material in the recently published *LXXX Sermons,* in which this sermon appears as No. 80, but took great liberty and little care in transcribing from his source.)[59]

Craik, Henry (ed.). *English Prose.* London, 1894. Vol. II.

Brewer, David J. (ed.). *The World's Best Essays.* St. Louis, 1900. Vol. IV.

Masefield, John (ed.). *An English Prose Miscellany.* London, 1907.

Barnett, Annie, and Lucy Dale (eds.). *An Anthology of English Prose (1332 to 1740).* London, 1912.

Smith, Logan Pearsall (ed.). *John Donne: Sermons; Selected Passages, with an Essay, by Logan Pearsall Smith.* Oxford, 1919.

Smith, Logan Pearsall (ed.). *A Treasury of English Prose.* Boston and New York, 1920.

Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur (ed.). *The Oxford Book of English Prose.* Oxford, 1925.

Hayward, John (ed.). *John Donne: Complete Poetry and Selected Prose.* London and New York, 1929, 1930, etc.

Coffin, Robert P. Tristram, and Alexander M. Witherspoon (eds.). *A Book of Seventeenth-Century Prose.* New York, 1929, etc. (Later editions entitled *Seventeenth-Century Prose and Poetry.*)

Moore, Cecil A., and Douglas Bush (eds.). *English Prose, 1600–1660.* New York, 1930.

Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur (ed.). *Pages of English Prose, 1390–1930.* Oxford, 1930.

Read, Herbert, and Bonamy Dobrée (eds.). *The London Book of English Prose.* London, 1931.

[59] We are grateful to Professor James D. Hart of the University of California for directing our attention to this rare volume and lending us his personal copy.

Hawkins, A. Desmond (ed.). *Poetry and Prose of John Donne.* London, etc., 1938.

Adams, J. Donald (ed.). *The Treasure Chest: An Anthology of Contemplative Prose.* New York, 1946.

Haydn, Hiram (ed.). *The Portable Elizabethan Reader.* New York, 1946.

Garrod, H. W. (ed.). *John Donne: Poetry and Prose,* etc. Oxford, 1946, 1948.

Brinkley, Roberta F. (ed.). *English Prose of the XVII Century.* New York, 1951.

II. *On the Manuscripts*

As far as is known at present, no autograph manuscripts now exist of any of Donne's sermons. There are, however, six manuscripts dating from Donne's lifetime that contain varying numbers of his sermons, copied by other hands, but all stemming from sources independent of any printed text.[1] These manuscripts are as follows:

M. The most valuable of all the manuscripts containing sermons by Donne is one in the possession of Mr. Wilfred Merton; and we are deeply indebted to his kindness in permitting us to examine it at our leisure and to collate with their other versions the sermons contained in it. With Mr. Merton's permission, we have decided to call this the Wilfred Merton Manuscript (*M*). It has hitherto been called, by Keynes and others, the "Collier" or "Payne-Collier" Manuscript. Its connection with John Payne Collier is, however, decidedly questionable. It does, to be sure, have inside its front cover a notation in pencil, "Mr. Collyer 3 Bouverie St. Fleet St."; but the handwriting is not Collier's, and, furthermore, Payne Collier never himself, as far as we can discover, spelled his name as "Collyer." It cannot possibly be the manuscript which Collier described in his *History of Dramatic Poetry*, II, 431–434, n.: "I have a MS. containing seventeen original sonnets, entitled *Devine Meditations, by Mr. Alablaster*.... The main body of the MS. consists of sermons by Dr. Donne, Dr. King, etc.: at the end is a collection of miscellaneous poems, chiefly upon sacred subjects, collected in the reign of James I." In his *Bibliographical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language* (1865), Vol. I, p. i, Collier stated, "Unfortunately we lent the MS. to a clergyman, and in some way, during the transit, Alabaster's sonnets accidentally escaped... they were accompanied by some other rare unprinted poems of the time." In 1843 Archdeacon Hannah recorded that he had in his custody, by the kindness of Mr. Payne Collier, a manuscript which he described as folio, and added that it "contained several of Donne's

[1] The significance of these manuscript versions to the determination of a satisfactory text for Donne's sermons will be discussed later, in § III, "On the Text." See below, pp. 50 ff.

The newly discovered manuscript *E* must be added to the list; it will be described in Volume II. See note at end of Preface, *ante*.

MS. sermons, along with other valuable relics, and amongst them a sermon by Dr. John King 'preached before y^e^ Kinges Maiestye' on Ps. ii. 10, 11, 12" (Hannah, edition of Henry King's *Poems,* xxx n., xci). This provides a link with the Wilfred Merton Manuscript, which contains this sermon by John King,[2] but unless Collier possessed two Donne manuscripts, the statement about Alabaster's poems and the "other rare unprinted poems of the time" which had been removed cannot be reconciled with the present condition of the Wilfred Merton Manuscript. No pages could possibly have been thus abstracted from the end of this manuscript, for the writing ends on fol. 171 recto and there then follow blank pages for fol. 171 verso and for fols. 172–176 inclusive, all with red-ink ruled borders like those on a great many other sheets of the volume—in other words, the volume is obviously complete as it now exists. Whatever connection this manuscript volume may or may not have had with John Payne Collier, it has a sure and fortunate connection at the present time with an owner who carefully preserves it, Mr. Merton.

The pages of this volume measure 8¼ by 12¼ inches, and the paper is heavy and of excellent quality. The cover has on it a design centering on the initials "H∗F." The manuscript is beautifully written, in secretary (i.e., English) hand; the titles elaborately arranged within circles, squares, etc., drawn mostly in red ink, with occasional ornaments, and the text enclosed in neatly ruled borders, some in red ink, some in black ink, and some in pencil.

The volume contains, on fols. 1–52 inclusive, material not by Donne, as follows: (1) the sermon by Bishop King on *Psalms* 2.10–12 already mentioned; (2) Sir Edward Coke's bill of complaint against George Close; (3) Close's answer to Coke; (4) Close's sermon on *I Corinthians* 6.7; (5 and 6) two anonymous sermons preached at weddings, on *Genesis* 2.21 and 22, and *Genesis* 2.18, respectively; (7) anonymous "Observations" on *Matthew* 1.18, "touching Contracts of Marriage etc."; (8) a sermon by John Burges on *Psalms* 122.8 and 9, preached "at Greenwich Before the King / June the ix A.D. 1604"; and (9) a

[2] In *M,* the sermon is headed as follows: "By Doctor King. Bis of London before y^e^ Kinges Maiestie. The Text: Be wise nowe therefore yee Kinges &c. ps: 2//10: 11: 12: ve:." The wording and spelling of the phrase quoted by Hannah from the manuscript in his possession are, it will be observed, not quite the wording and spelling of the corresponding phrase in *M.*

sermon on *Exodus* 15.3, entitled "Docter Marshal's Commendacion of Martiall Disipline 1616. A Sermon Preached at St. Clement Danes the 25: of July for y^e^ conuent of y^e^ Cap. & Souldiers of the Militarye."

The material from Donne occupies the rest of the volume, from fol. 53 to fol. 171 recto, inclusive. Fol. 171 verso, and fols. 172–176 inclusive, are blank pages, ruled like the others with borders. Sixteen sermons of Donne's are transcribed—twice as many as exist in any other single extant manuscript—and some of the titles or the end notes for these different sermons give invaluable information not obtainable from any other source.[3]

The sermons included in *M* are as follows:

1. On *Ecclesiastes* 12.1; entitled "Do Donns Farewell Sermon preach'd at Lincolnes Inne when he went to the K: of Bohemie 1619." Also in *D, L, Dob, A,* and *S*. It is the earlier or unrevised form of the sermon printed as No. 19 of *XXVI Sermons*.

2. On *Luke* 23.34. (Between fols. 59 and 60 a sheet has been three-quarters torn out, which may possibly have contained a title for this sermon; but no such title, or other descriptive notation, now exists.) This sermon is printed as No. 34 in *Fifty Sermons*.

3 and 4. On *John* 5.22, and *John* 8.15; entitled, "Two Sermons preach'd at Lincolnes Inn on Sunday the 30: of Ja: 1619 the one in y^e^ fore-noone y^e^ other in the after-noone by Do: Dunn." Also in *D* and *L*. Printed as Nos. 5 and 6 in *Six Sermons,* and as Nos. 12 and 13 of *Fifty Sermons*.

5. On *Psalms* 144.15; described at end of sermon as follows: "Finis of Doctor Dunns Sermon preach'd at Whit-hall before the Kinge the thirtyeth of Aprill 1620." Also in *D, L,* and *P*. Printed as No. 74 of *LXXX Sermons*.

6. On *Matthew* 21.44; described at end of sermon as follows: "Finis of a Sermon of docter Donns preach'd at y^e^ Cockpit." Prefixed to the sermon is the letter to the Countess of Montgomery that is also prefixed to the copy of this sermon in *Dob*. The sermon itself is not only in *Dob,* but also in *D* and *L*. It is printed as No. 4 in *Six Sermons,* and as No. 35 in *Fifty Sermons*.

[3] The significance of this information will be fully considered in the biographical introductions to the volumes of the present edition in which are printed the particular sermons concerned.

7. On *Psalms* 38.9. There is no title to this sermon in *M*, and no descriptive note at the end. The sermon exists also in *D, L,* and *Dob;* it was not printed in the seventeenth century.

8. On *Colossians* 1.24; no title, or note at end. The sermon is in *D* and *L,* and is printed as No. 16 in *Fifty Sermons.*

9. On *Amos* 5.18; described at end of sermon as follows: "Finis of Doc: Donns Sermon at Whitehall before the Kinge the 30: of March 1619." It is in no other manuscript, but is printed as No. 14 in *LXXX Sermons.*

10. On *Proverbs* 8.17; no title, or note at end. It is printed as No. 18 in *XXVI Sermons.*

11. On *I. Timothy* 3.16; described at end of sermon as follows: "Finis of Doc: Donns Sermon at White-hall before the Kinge the 16: February 1620." Also in *D, L,* and *P.* Printed as No. 4 in *XXVI Sermons.*

12. On *Mark* 16.16; described at end of sermon as follows: "Finis of a Sermon of Do: Duns Lincolns Inn." It is in no other manuscript, but is printed as No. 76 of *LXXX Sermons.*

13. On *I Corinthians* 15.26; described at end of sermon as follows: "Finis of D: Dunn before the Kinge on Frydaye before Lent 1621." It is printed as No. 15 in *LXXX Sermons.*

14. On *Genesis* 2.18; described at end of sermon as follows: "Finis of a Sermon preach'd by D: Donn at S^{r} Francis Nethersoles marriage." It is in no other manuscript, but is printed as No. 2 in *Fifty Sermons.*

15. On *Hosea* 2.19; described at end of sermon as follows: "Finis of a Sermon preach'd at S^{t} Clements danes by D: Dunn at M^{r} Washingtons marriage." Also in *P.* Printed as No. 3 in *Six Sermons* and as No. 3 in *Fifty Sermons.*

16. On *II Corinthians* 4.6; described at end of sermon as follows: "Finis of Doc: Donns Sermon at y^{e} Spitle on Easte [*sic*] Munday 1622." Also in *P.* Printed as No. 25 in *XXVI Sermons.*

D. The Dowden manuscript (*D*) is also in the possession of Mr. Wilfred Merton, who has kindly allowed us to examine it. It is written in a neat and exceptionally clear Italian hand, with few contractions or abbreviations. The pages measure 8½ by 6⅝ inches. The volume contains 116 leaves, numbered as 232 pages, of which pages 1–212 are occupied by eight of Donne's sermons, the page after each sermon

being left blank. Pages 213–214 are blank, and pages 215–229 are occupied by a sermon and notes in a different hand. In our opinion and in that of Mr. Merton, this sermon is not by Donne. Page 230 is blank. Page 231 contains what appears to be the close of a sermon (not by Donne). Page 232 is blank.

This manuscript volume of sermons is one of two volumes, both owned by Mr. Merton, both formerly in the possession of Professor Dowden,[4] and either or both referred to as *D* or "the Dowden Manuscript" by Grierson, Keynes, and others; the other volume being a collection of Donne's poems.[5] We are here concerned only with the volume containing the sermons. Like its companion volume of poems, it has been rebound. On its first page is written, "Ex dono M^ri^ Gregg: de Ilkeston park: May 29^th^ 1683."

The eight sermons by Donne in this manuscript are as follows:

1. On *Matthew* 21.44. Also in *M, L,* and *Dob.* Printed in *Six Sermons* as No. 4, and in *Fifty Sermons* as No. 35.

2. On *John* 5.22. Also in *M* and *L.* Printed in *Six Sermons* as No. 5, and in *Fifty Sermons* as No. 12.

3. On *John* 8.15. Subtitle, in *D,* "The Sermon in the Eueninge of the same day," and at the end dated, "At Lincolnes Inne. 3° Januar: 1619." Also in *M* and *L.* Printed in *Six Sermons* as No. 6, and in *Fifty Sermons* as No. 13.

4. On *Ecclesiastes* 12.1. Also in *M, L, Dob,* and *A.* Printed in a pirated form in *Sapientia Clamitans* (1638), and in a revised form in *XXVI Sermons* (1661).

[4] In the preface to an edition of the Sermon on *Psalms* 38.9, which Mr. Merton had privately printed in 1921, in facsimile from the Dowden Manuscript, he states that the manuscript was purchased for him at the sale of Dowden's library in 1913.

[5] Grierson (edition of *The Poems of John Donne,* Oxford, 1912, Vol. II, p. lxxxiii) describes *D* as "a small quarto manuscript," and lists it as one of the manuscripts "which are, or aim at being, complete collections of Donne's poems." Keynes describes the "Dowden MS" as "a 4° volume containing nine sermons, eight of which were by Donne," and also lists among MSS of the poems (his list being based upon Grierson's) "D" as from the Dowden Library (Keynes, *Bibliography of Dr. John Donne,* 2d ed., 1932, pp. 19 and 114). Sparrow uses the phrase "Dowden MS" to apply to what he describes as "a collection, devoted . . . mainly to Donne's sermons."

5. On *Colossians* 1.24. Also in *M* and *L*. Printed in *Fifty Sermons* as No. 16.

6. On *Psalms* 144.15. Subtitle, in *D*, "At Whitehall to y^e^ Kinge. Psal: 144.15. Being y^e^ first psal: for y^e^ day." Also in *M, L,* and *P*. Printed in *LXXX Sermons* as No. 74.

7. On *Psalms* 38.9. Also in *M, L,* and *Dob*. Privately printed in facsimile from this manuscript in 1921 by Wilfred Merton. Published in 1924 from the same manuscript by E. M. Simpson in *A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne*. Edited in 1946 from *Dob* with a critical apparatus giving variant readings from *D*, by G. R. Potter.

8. On *I Timothy* 3.16. Subtitle, in *D*, "Preached to y^e^ Kinge at Whitehall 16 Febr. 1620." Also in *M, L,* and *P*. Printed in *XXVI Sermons* as No. 4.

All the sermons just mentioned are in the same hand. On page 215 there begins the ninth sermon, in a new hand. It is on *Psalms* 73.1, and it is clearly not by Donne.

L. The Lothian Manuscript (*L*) is in the possession of the present Marquess of Lothian, who inherited it, through several removes, from the ninth Marquess, to whom it was given in 1898 by the late Dr. Augustus Jessopp. According to a note inside the front cover, in Jessopp's hand, the volume was given to him in 1855 by David Laing, the antiquary, who had bought it at a sale in London. On a flyleaf there is an inscription: "Frs. Watts Linc. Inn 1820."

By the courtesy of the late Marquess the volume was sent to Oxford in 1930 in order that it might be examined by John Sparrow[6] and Evelyn M. Simpson. "The MS., which appears to have been re-bound early in the last century, contains (apart from fly-leaves introduced in re-binding) 205 leaves, measuring 7½ by 5⅞ inches. Of the first of these leaves only traces remain: presumably it was the leaf of desultory notes detached by Jessopp,[7] which may be reckoned as folio 1 of the MS."

[6] Some points in our account are reproduced from John Sparrow, "John Donne and Contemporary Preachers," *Essays and Studies,* XVI, 172–175, supplemented by notes taken by E. M. Simpson in 1930–1931.

[7] "The leaf of desultory notes attached by Jessopp" is a reference to a flyleaf which Sparrow says was detached in 1898, and "is now in the possession of Mr. Geoffrey Keynes" (*Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association,* XVI, 172 n.).

In a note inside the front cover of the volume Dr. Jessopp stated, "This volume is undoubtedly written by the hand of Dr. Donne Dean of St. Paul's. It contains 18 sermons hitherto unknown, the others have been already printed...." Mrs. Simpson's inspection convinced her that the handwriting was not Donne's, and this was also the judgment of two experts in Jacobean handwriting to whom she submitted it—Dr. W. W. Greg and Dr. Percy Simpson. Jessopp's estimate of the number of unpublished sermons as eighteen[8] was due to his reckoning together several discourses on a single text, although in one case he numbered separately two sermons which were on the same text and clearly independent. It seems best to follow Sparrow's arrangement, by which each discourse is numbered separately, and this gives us a total of thirty-nine. These are divided into four sections, the first of which occupies fols. 3–57, and contains nine sermons, eight of which are certainly by Donne.

The first sermon in this section is on *Psalms* 24.7, and is not found among Donne's printed works, nor in any of the other extant MSS of his sermons. John Sparrow stated his belief that it was by Donne,[9] but this is not the opinion of the two present editors. We have decided to print it in full in an appendix to Volume X, and to give our reasons there for believing it to be by another author. The remaining sermons in this section are the same as those in *D,* arranged in the same order except for the last two sermons. Here the sermon on *I Timothy* 3.16 precedes the sermon on *Psalms* 38.9, instead of following it, as in *D.* The ninth sermon in *D* (that on *Psalms* 73.1), which is not by Donne, is not found here.

The whole of this section of the volume is closely and neatly written in a rather cramped hand, which employed a large number of contractions. At the end of Sermons 1, 2, 5, 6, and 9 dates are written ranging from "3°: non: Augusti. 1624" to "11° Septemb: 1624." These are the dates of transcription, for the majority of these sermons were preached in 1619–1621, according to the dates given in the Folios. Ciphers are attached to Sermons 7 and 8. The key to this cipher was

[8] In a penciled index at the end of the volume Jessopp represented the total number of the sermons as twenty-four. As seven had been published when Jessopp wrote, this is inconsistent with his previous statement.

[9] *Op. cit.,* pp. 174–175.

given by Dr. Jessopp, who appended a note showing that the cipher figures prefixed to Sermon 7 stand for "Coram rege at Whitehall."

The second section occupies fols. 58–101, fols. 102–106 being left blank. The writing is larger and less careful than in Section 1, and several of the sermons are in the form of jottings.[10] It is strange that Dr. Jessopp, who was a warm admirer of Donne's work, should have believed that either the finished sermons or the jottings could possibly have been written by the Dean of St. Paul's. The style is extremely poor, as may be judged from the following extract: "...but if we examine 1 the title; 2 the iurisdiction; 3 the life; 4 the doctrine of the present Roman Church, these 4 fruits shew that an euill; some euill spirit dwells there. for the title of Vniuersall is preiudiciall to all Bishops, therefore Roma is not Amor but backward their Iurisdiction derogatory to all Emperors and kings; their life detestable to all men; and their doctrine iniurious against Christ and all that is called God, this is not of the holy Ghost which excellent God gaue to his disciples and Apostles as on this day, that were met together in one place and with one accord, here is Gods liberality ex parte doni, the holy Ghost."

We have only to compare this Whitsunday sermon with the collection of Donne's authentic Whitsunday sermons preserved in *LXXX Sermons,* to see at once the immense difference in style and tone. The feeble anagram of *Roma, Amor,* is almost enough in itself to disprove Donne's authorship. These jottings appear to be the work of a clergyman who sat down to compose sermons with the aid perhaps of Andrewes's *XCVI Sermons* in front of him.

The third section, occupying fols. 107–172, contains fourteen sermons, which seem, like those in Section 1, to be fair copies. These have more literary merit than the contents of Section 2, but they have not the peculiar flavor of Donne's style. There is a long treatise on Jacob's Ladder which is a curious piece of work, containing a considerable number of Greek words, taken not only from the New Testa-

[10] At the foot of the page preceding the beginning of the third sermon an introductory paragraph has been written in, beginning with these words, "This day we keep holy to the holy Ghost, by whom all holy daies, all holy persons, and all holy things whatsoeuer are made holy." These are almost identical, as was pointed out by the late Dr. F. E. Hutchinson in a letter to Mrs. E. M. Simpson, with the words used by Bishop Andrewes at the beginning of a sermon on the same text in his *XCVI Sermons.*

ment, but from Aristotle and other Greek authors. This is unlike Donne, who uses very few Greek words in his sermons, and those almost entirely from the New Testament. When Donne quotes Aristotle, Plato, and other Greek authors, his practice throughout his prose works is to quote the Latin translations of these writers. Thus it seems likely that although the writer of the manuscript is copying sermons by some better preacher than himself, as in Section 1, here the preacher is not Donne.

In the fourth section, occupying fols. 174–203, there are seven sermons, again as in Section 2 in the form of jottings rather than regular discourses. The writing is large and careless, the paper becomes bad, and the writing more difficult to decipher. The last sermon appears to be unfinished, and fols. 204–205 are blank.

P. The St. Paul's Cathedral Library Manuscript (*P*) is a volume written in 1625/1626 containing five sermons, four of which are by Donne. It measures 5⅝ by 7⅞ inches. On the flyleaf is an inscription, "Katherine Butler Given me by my Father May 1693." Page 1 is occupied by an elaborate pen-and-ink title page with fanciful borders. It is inscribed: "SERMONS / MADE BY I. DONNE / doctor of Deuinty [*sic*] and / Deane of Pauls /[rule]/ An°: Domini: 1625 / Kni: Chetwode / "

The sermons are written throughout in a large and clear hand of the Italian type. The copyist, whose name, abbreviated, appears on the title page and in full at the bottom of the last page, was Knightley Chetwode, eldest son of Richard Chetwode, Esquire, of Chetwode, Buckinghamshire, and Oakley, Staffordshire, and Anne his wife, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Valentine Knightley, of Fawsley, Northamptonshire. Knightley Chetwode was probably a youth of not more than twenty-one when he copied out these sermons. He must have died before his father, Richard Chetwode, who was succeeded in the estates by a younger son, Valentine, described in 1648 as aged thirty. Between Knightley and Valentine more than one daughter was born to Richard and Anne Chetwode. Valentine Chetwode had a son, born in 1650, also named Knightley, who became Dean of Gloucester. The sermons are as follows:

1. On *Psalms* 144.15. Also in *M, D,* and *L.* Printed in *LXXX Sermons* as No. 74.

2. On *I Timothy* 3.16. This also has a title page dated 1625. It is the same sermon as No. 4 in *XXVI Sermons,* where it is described as having been preached "before the King at Whitehall Feb. 16, 1620." It is also found in *M, D,* and *L* .

3. Sermon preached before the King by "Dr. Joshua Hall." We can find no record of any preacher of this name eminent enough to have preached before the King. It seems likely that Chetwode mistook the abbreviation "Jos." for "Joshua" instead of "Joseph," and that the preacher was Dr. Joseph Hall, the eminent writer and theologian who became Bishop of Norwich.

4. On *Hosea* 2.19. "1626. The fourth Sermon by John Donne Doctor of Diuinity Deane of St. Pauls. Preached at St. Clements at M[r] Washingtons Marriage." Also in *M.* Printed in *Six Sermons* as No. 3, and in *Fifty Sermons* as No. 3.

5. On *II Corinthians* 4.6. "The F[ifth] Sermon by John Donne Doctor of Diuinity and Deane of Paules. Anno 1625. 2 Cor. 4.6. Preached at the Spittle on Easter Monday 1622." Also in *M.* Printed in *XXVI Sermons* as No. 25.

At the end of this last sermon there is written "FINIS [rule] Knightley Chetwode." A number of later pages are occupied by a number of poems in a later hand, perhaps that of Katherine Butler, whose name is on the flypage. The date 1696 is written at the top. At the end of the volume are various extracts of prose and verse with the heading, "A Common Place Book. 1696."[11]

Dob. The Dobell Manuscript (*Dob*) was bought by Percy J. Dobell, the famous bookseller, at a Sotheby's sale of June 10–12, 1914. Mr. Dobell was the only person who at the time recognized the value of the manuscript; it was described in Sotheby's catalogue simply as a "Commonplace Book, consisting of extracts from History, Poetry, Theology and other subjects, written in a neat hand about 1620, with notes in the margins by a later hand."[12] Since the volume was listed in

[11] The information in this section is reprinted, with a few omissions and alterations, from E. M. Simpson, "A Donne Manuscript in St. Paul's Cathedral Library," *Philological Quarterly,* Vol. XXI, No. 2 (April, 1942).

[12] For information about this sale we are indebted to Mr. Dobell himself, who in a letter to G. R. Potter wrote, "As no one save myself saw the value and importance of the volume I secured it for a nominal sum—just the value of the binding in fact. An exciting day for me!"

a section of Sotheby's catalogue described as "Other Properties," without the name of the vendor,[13] and since we are informed by Sotheby and Company that all the auctioneers' copies of the Catalogues previous to 1920 have been destroyed, we cannot trace the ownership backward from that 1914 sale. On July 2, 1932, the manuscript was acquired from Mr. Dobell by the Harvard University Library, where it is now deposited. We follow Keynes in calling it by the name of its discoverer.[14]

The volume is beautifully bound, in old morocco tooled in gilt, the binding dating from the early seventeenth century and probably made in London. The pages measure 11½ by 7⅝ inches. It contains 266 leaves.[15]

Most of the pages are crowded with writing. This writing is of two main sorts, and dates from two quite different periods. First, there are careful transcripts of the majority of Donne's poems, a number of his paradoxes, and three complete sermons. The nature of the texts, both of the sermons and of the other material, makes it certain that these transcripts date from the earlier seventeenth century, almost certainly from Donne's lifetime. They are in a careful and clear, though seemingly not professional, secretary (English) hand; wide margins were left, and many blank pages at various points between different parts of Donne's works. Second, there is an extraordinarily large amount of completely miscellaneous material, filling most of the blank pages and even most of the wide margins—hundreds of aphorisms, legal documents, letters, personal comments, and emotional outpourings of various sorts—in a different and quite bad handwriting (also secretary hand). Sometimes material was evidently copied rather slowly and

[13] Lot 1095 in the catalogue.

[14] Keynes's abbreviation for the MS was "Do." We have decided to use the abbreviation "Dob," in order to avoid possible confusion with the Dowden Manuscript.

In an edition of the Sermon on *Psalms* 38.9 taken mainly from the version in this manuscript (Stanford University Press, 1946), the editor, G. R. Potter, referred to the manuscript by its Harvard call number, "Nor 4506."

[15] Fol. 266 verso is numbered as p. 536, which would seem to indicate that there are 268 leaves in the volume; but, on the one hand, the page numbering skips over the numbers 243, 244, 245, 246, 489, and 490; and on the other, there is one sheet that has no page numbers on it.

carefully, and the result is readily legible; more often, the words seem to have been written rapidly and carelessly, and the result is a scrawl difficult and occasionally impossible to decipher. The writer of this scrawl inserted or changed titles for many of the Donne poems—invariably giving the titles that appear in the 1669 printed edition, which he obviously had at hand,—added a poem or two from the 1669 edition, and also added what seem to be his own prose paraphrases of Donne's Fourth verse Satire and the spurious poem called "Satire VII" in the 1669 volume. The personal nature of many entries in this later handwriting, and the fact that the writer thrice accidentally included his initials or signature when copying (or perhaps drafting) letters,[16] make it possible to identify him with certainty as William Balam, who was born in 1652 or 1653 at Ely, was a student at St. John's College, Cambridge, from 1667 to 1671, was (probably) admitted at Lincoln's Inn in 1672, received the degree of LL.D. from Cambridge in 1682, was in his latter years Register of the Diocese of Ely, and must have died not long before March 17, 1727, since his will was proved on that last date. Balam was the owner of the manuscript volume for at least several decades late in the seventeenth century and early in the eighteenth, and used its margins and blank pages as a commonplace book.[17]

The sermons transcribed in the Dobell Manuscript are as follows:

1. On *Psalms* 38.9. This sermon did not appear in print in the seventeenth century, but is in *M, D,* and *L.*

2. On *Ecclesiastes* 12.1. This, the Sermon of Valediction, appears in *M, D, L,* and *A,* was piratically printed in *Sapientia Clamitans,* and is No. 19 in *XXVI Sermons.* At the end of the text in *Dob* is the note, "preached at Lincolnes Inne June before his departure with my L. of Doncaster, 1619."

3. On *Matthew* 21.44. This sermon is in *M, D,* and *L;* it was printed as No. 4 in *Six Sermons,* and as No. 35 in *Fifty Sermons.* In *Dob,* as

[16] On pp. 465 and 530 he signs as "W: B:" and on p. 507 as "W: Balam" (or "Balan"—it is not possible to be sure which letter was intended; and the name was, at the time, spelled both ways).

[17] To the history of *Dob* prior and subsequent to the time it was in Balam's possession there are numerous possible clues, but the present editors find, at the moment, equally numerous gaps and uncertainties. It is hoped that a more detailed discussion of the history of this and perhaps of other MSS can be included in a later volume of the present edition.

also in *M,* a dedicatory letter to the Countess of Montgomery is prefixed to the sermon.

A. MS Ashmole 781 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (*A*), is a commonplace book of the early seventeenth century containing a single sermon by Donne. The pages of the volume measure 7½ by 5¾ inches. The first leaf is blank, and leaves 2–11 are occupied by Donne's sermon, at the close of which is written, "Dr Dun. This Sermon he preached at Lincolnes Inn before his goeng with vicount Doncaster." The sermon is very closely written in the English or secretary hand. The rest of the book contains copies of documents and letters, mostly well known, such as Sir Walter Raleigh's last letter to his wife, followed by miscellaneous poems such as "M^{r} Hoskins Dreame," "Underneath this sable hearse," and finally, "Verses made upon a paire of slippers sent for a New yeares guifte 1631." These later items are in a different hand from that in which the sermon is written.

The Ashmole collection of manuscripts was formed by Elias Ashmole (1617–1692), the well-known antiquary, who bequeathed it to the University of Oxford. For a time it was housed in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, but in the nineteenth century it was transferred to the Bodleian Library.

The sermon is the *Sermon of Valediction,* on *Ecclesiastes* 12.1, printed in *XXVI Sermons* as No. 19, but in this MS it is in the earlier or unrevised form found also in *M, D, Dob, L,* and *Sapientia Clamitans.*

III. *On the Text*

THE PRESENT EDITION is founded on the three great Folio volumes edited by Donne's son—the *LXXX Sermons* of 1640, the *Fifty Sermons* of 1649, and the *XXVI Sermons* of 1661—together with the sermons which were published in Donne's lifetime. *F 80* and *F 50* should be regarded as essentially one volume;[1] and they contain Donne's sermons in the revised form in which he wished that they should be given to the world. We have two definite statements about the preparation of the sermons in these volumes. One is by Donne himself in the letter which he wrote to Sir Thomas Roe[2] on November 25, 1625, when he was staying with Sir John and Lady Danvers at Chelsea during the plague epidemic of 1625: "I have reviewed as many of my sermons as I had kept any note of and I have written out a great many, and hope to do more. I am already come to the number of eighty, of which my son, who, I hope, will take the same profession or some other in the world of middle understanding, may hereafter make some use." The second statement is that by Henry King, afterward Bishop of Chichester, whom Donne appointed as his literary executor, in a letter to Izaak Walton dated November 17, 1664, and printed in Walton's *Lives* (1670).[3] In this letter King writes of "my most dear and incomparable Friend Dr. *Donne,* late Dean of St. *Pauls* Church, who not only trusted me as his executor, but three days before his death delivered into my hands those excellent Sermons of his now made publick: professing before Dr. *Winniff,* Dr. *Monford,* and, I think, your self then present at his bedside, that it was by my restless importunity that he had prepared them for the Press; together with which (as his best Legacy) he gave me all his Sermon-Notes, and his other papers...."

There is no real conflict between these two statements. In 1625

[1] See § I of the General Introductions, "On the Bibliography of the Sermons," pp. 1 ff. For explanation of abbreviations used above and elsewhere in the present Introduction on the text, see *ante,* p. xiv.

[2] S. P. Dom. Chas. I, Vol. 10, December 28. The letter is quoted in full by Gosse, *Life and Letters of John Donne,* II, 222–225. The fact that the letter was addressed to Roe was established by I. A. Shapiro in the *Times Literary Supplement* (London) for February 7, 1935.

[3] Life of Donne, pp. 1–8. The passage quoted is on p. 2.

Donne wrote out a large number of his sermons for the benefit of his son John, who was then studying at Christ Church, Oxford, and who was beginning to show signs of intellectual promise by contributing Latin poems to three volumes which were published in 1623, 1624, and 1625.[4] Unfortunately, John proved later to be an unsatisfactory young man, and in 1634 he got into trouble with the authorities for having struck a small boy with his riding whip. When the boy died a short time later, John was tried at Oxford for manslaughter, and was acquitted owing to the uncertainty of the medical evidence.[5] This was after Donne's death, but since Donne did not appoint him as one of his executors it is likely that he was already dissatisfied with his son, who was described by Anthony à Wood as "an atheistical buffoon." The eighty sermons which Donne prepared in 1625 cannot be identified with the *LXXX Sermons* of 1640, for that volume contains many sermons which were delivered later than 1625. There is an interesting heading for No. 71 of *F 80:* "At the Haghe, Decemb. 19, 1619. I Preached upon this Text. Since in my sicknesse at *Abrey-hatche* in Essex, 1630, revising my short notes of that sermon, I digested them into these two." "Abrey-hatche" was Aldborough Hatch, the home of his daughter Constance, and Donne was there for most of the six months between August, 1630, and February, 1630/1631, when he returned to London to preach his last sermon and to die. It was on December 13, 1630, that Donne signed the will by which he made Henry King and Dr. Montford his executors. During this long sickness he had plenty of time in which, after listening to King's "restless importunity," he could finally prepare his sermons for the press.

The Folios.—It is evident from these statements that the sermons as we have them in the Folios are not word for word the sermons as Donne preached them.[6] For many of them Donne had merely short notes; for others, a copy which had been "exscribed." Thus, in a letter to Ker written in 1627 he says: "I have now put into my Lord of *Bath* and *Wells* hands the sermon faithfully exscribed,"[7] and this, as Spar-

[4] Keynes, *Bibliography of . . . Donne,* 2d ed., 1932, pp. 165, 166.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 162.

[6] See John Sparrow, "John Donne and Contemporary Preachers," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association,* XVI, 163–169.

[7] *Letters* (1651), p. 308. (Gosse, II, 244.)

row has shown, must have been a fair copy of the manuscript which Donne had already written before he preached the sermon, which was delivered before the King. In a letter of 1621 he says: "I send you a Copy of that Sermon, but it is not my copy, which I thought my L. of *Southampton* would have sent me backe. This you must be pleased to let me have again, for I borrow it: for the other, I will pretermit no time to write it; though in good faith, I have half forgot it."[8] Sparrow shows from the example of Hall, Ussher, Dr. More, Baxter, and others that Donne's practice in preaching from notes of a sermon which he had carefully thought out and memorized was the usual method of seventeenth-century preachers. When such sermons were published later, it was expected that an author would revise and polish them.[9]

The printing of *F 80* is excellent, and the misprints are few. All the sermons in this volume which are found also in any of the extant manuscripts are here presented in a better form than in the manuscripts. There are a few passages in the manuscripts which seem to represent an earlier draft, and the Folio text represents Donne's revision, but such passages are comparatively rare. Most of the variants found in the manuscripts are merely scribal blunders, though here and there they contain the correct form of a word which has been misprinted in the Folio.

The printing of *F 50* is definitely less good than that of *F 80*. There are many more misprints, the punctuation is less consistent, and the printer has not been so careful in preserving Donne's practice of italicizing proper names, and quotations from the Bible or from Latin authors.[10] *F 50* like *F 80* contains some passages which are clearly revisions by Donne of earlier wording that survives in some of the seventeenth-century manuscripts; and much interesting information about his methods of revision can be derived from a comparison of the two forms of the text. Nevertheless, the text of this Folio as well as of *F 80* must for such passages be regarded as the authoritative one, rather than the earlier text of the manuscripts.

The publication of *F 26* in 1661 was evidently an afterthought on

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 200. (Gosse, II, 151.)

[9] Sparrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 157–163.

[10] This is particularly noticeable throughout pp. 239–262, in which as many as fifty-seven Biblical quotations are printed in roman, not in italic.

the part of John Donne the younger, who rushed the volume through the press so that he might dedicate it to Charles II as soon as possible after the Restoration. There is no reason to suppose that the greater part of it was printed from a manuscript copy carefully revised by Donne, though it contains at least one sermon (No. 19, the *Sermon of Valediction*) of which this is true. It is a composite volume, in which the first twelve sermons appear to have been printed from one manuscript book and the next six to have been taken from a different and less well transcribed manuscript book, and the remaining sermons are evidently derived from yet a third source, which may have included a few sermons in Donne's autograph.

The text of *F 26* is not, on the whole, nearly as good as that found in *F 80* and *F 50*. Though there are a few misprints in *F 80* and considerably more in *F 50*, the sense is generally quite clear.[11] In *F 26*, however, there are a considerable number of passages which fail to make sense. Occasionally, as in the sermon on *I Timothy* 3.16, we can recover the meaning from the manuscripts which contain the sermon, and it is clear in such passages that the copy from which *F 26* was printed omitted words which were necessary to the sense. For most of these sermons, however, we have no manuscript to help us, and an editor is sometimes forced to mark such passages as corrupt or defective.[12]

[11] In *F 80* the sermon on *I Corinthians* 15.26 (No. 15) and in *F 50* the sermon on *Hosea* 2.19 (No. 3) and the two on *Genesis* 1.26 (Nos. 28, 29) are possible exceptions to this statement.

[12] For example, take the latter clause of this sentence in the sermon on *Ecclesiastes* 5.12 and 13 (*F 26*, p. 145): "To give the wicked a better sense of this, God proceeds often the same way, with the righteous too; but with the wicked, because they do with the righteous, least they should trust in their own riches." Later in the same sermon (pp. 151–152) we find: "Absolution, which by the power committed to them, Gods Ministers came to the penitent, *In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost;* and it must be fetched this night, the night is already upon him, before he thought of it." In the sermon on *Isaiah* 52.3 (p. 158) we find "... but we sell our selves, and grow the farther in debt, by being sold; we are sold, and to even rate our debts, and to aggravate our condemnation." In the sermon on *I Timothy* 1.15 (p. 183, second numbering) we read: "And there, sayes that Father, *lignum vitæ Christus,* Christ Jesus himself (as he is taught hee that gives life to all our actions; and even so our faith it self, which

The prevalence of printer's errors, also, in *F 26* is indicated by a survey of the different "states" found in extant copies of this volume. The corrected state of the forme consisting of Aa1 verso and Aa4 recto, for example, shows no fewer than thirty-nine individual corrections, of words, punctuation, spelling, etc.[13] Somebody, who was in the printer's shop at the time, evidently had a burst of energy and checked with particular care through one forme. There seems no reason to suppose that this forme was the only one thus needing extensive correction, though others were not checked as thoroughly.

Editions published in Donne's lifetime.—Next in importance to the three Folio volumes come the sermons—six in number—which were published within Donne's lifetime. All of these were printed with a fair amount of care, but there are more misprints per sermon than in *F 80*. A few of the misprints were recognized, and there is a small list of errata in the sermons on *Judges* 5.20 (first issue), *Acts* 1.8 (first edition), *Psalms* 11.3, and *Isaiah* 50.1. We have found a number of additional errors, but there is no corruption of the text. A few small changes were made while the sheets were passing through the press, perhaps as proofs were read by Donne or by the "corrector" of the press.[14] There is no evidence, however, to show that Donne exercised the same sort of vigilance that Ben Jonson showed while the sheets of the 1616 Folio of his *Works* were passing through the press.

Sermons found in more than one text.—Of Donne's one hundred and sixty extant sermons, twenty-three survive in more than one seventeenth-century text. Of these twenty-three, fifteen appear both in one or another of the Folios and in one or more manuscripts; two

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faith qualifies and dignifies those actions: And then, sayes from the Scriptures, in the Church) is the Tree of Life, for it is he, As Christ alone, in this Paradise, that is, the christian Church, is this Tree of life. . . ." These are merely samples of a large number of corrupt passages.

[13] For further details on the different states of *F 26*, see § I of these General Introductions, "On the Bibliography of the Sermons," p. 11. A list of the variant states in different copies of this and the other seventeenth-century editions will be printed as an appendix to the last volume of the present edition.

[14] See P. Simpson, *Proof-reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries*, Oxford University Press, 1935, pp. 7, 11–13, 110–112.

are in *F 50* and *Six Sermons* (i.e., the quarto edition of 1634), but not in any manuscript; one (*Deaths Duell*) is in *F 26* and two separately printed issues; one (on *Judges* 5.20) was separately printed within Donne's lifetime in three successive issues, and one (on *Acts* 1.8) was separately printed in two editions; two sermons appear twice in *F 26* with slightly different texts; and one (on *Psalms* 38.9) is in no seventeenth-century printed text, but in four of the manuscripts.

A study of these twenty-three sermons is of the highest importance, not only for determining for each of them a text closest to Donne's own intentions, but also for editing the much larger number of sermons that exist in only one text.[15]

The accompanying chart indicates what are the early manuscripts and printed editions now known to be extant, for each of the twenty-three sermons that exist in more than one text.[16]

The printed and manuscript texts for each sermon listed in the chart vary from one another to different degrees—some slightly, some radically—in the use of italics, capitalization, spelling, punctuation, and wording. Of most importance to an editor or a student of Donne's prose are the variants of the last sort, in wording; and we shall therefore consider them first and most carefully, coming later to the less important variants such as those in punctuation and spelling.

Sermons on Acts 1.8 and Judges 5.20.—For the sermons on *Acts* 1.8 and *Judges* 5.20 we have no manuscript versions, but find some variants in wording between the first and second editions of the sermon on *Acts* and among the three issues of that on *Judges*. These variants present no difficult problems to an editor, since they all are plainly either corrections in the later printings of printer's errors in the earlier, or printer's errors that crept into the later printings and did not appear in the earliest text. The later printings show no evidence at all of Donne's own revision.

[15] As early as 1930, Sparrow urged upon students of Donne's sermons the advisability of a careful comparison of the available printed and manuscript texts: *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[16] In the chart, a plus sign indicates that the sermon concerned appears in the specified edition or manuscript; a minus sign, that it does not. For a description of the various printed editions and manuscripts, see the preceding sections of this General Introduction, "On the Bibliography" (pp. 1 ff.) and "On the Manuscripts" (pp. 33 ff.).

OCCURRENCE OF SERMONS EXTANT IN MORE THAN ONE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TEXT, IN PRINTED EDITIONS AND IN MANUSCRIPTS

Scriptural text of sermon	Printed editions						Manuscripts					
	F 80	*F 50*	*F 26*	*Q 6*	*S*	Separate printings	*M*	*D*	*L*	*Dob*	*P*	*A*
Ecclesiastes 12.1	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
Matthew 21.44	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
John 5.22	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
John 8.15	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
Psalms 144.15	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
I Timothy 3.16	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−
Colossians 1.24	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
Hosea 2.19	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
Psalms 38.9	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
II Corinthians 4.6	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
Genesis 2.18	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
Proverbs 8.17	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
Mark 16.16	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
Luke 23.34	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
I Corinthians 15.26	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
Amos 5.18	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
Genesis 1.26 (I)	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Genesis 1.26 (II)	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Psalms 68.20	−	−	+	−	−	++ (2 editions)	−	−	−	−	−	−
Acts 1.8	−	−	−	−	−	++ (2 editions)	−	−	−	−	−	−
Judges 5.20	−	−	−	−	−	+++ (3 issues)	−	−	−	−	−	−
Matthew 6.21	−	−	++ (Nos. 5 and 16)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
James 2.12	−	−	++ (Nos. 3 and 17)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

In the second edition of the sermon on *Acts,* there was a complete resetting of type, and the variants in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and use of italics—which will be considered a little later in this Introduction—are numerous. All variants in wording are, however, of the two sorts described above. The first edition is, clearly, on the whole closer to Donne's own manuscript than the second, and hence is the better to use as a text. The second edition is very useful in correcting printer's errors present in the first, and where wording varies it is never doubtful which of the two variants is correct.

The three issues of the sermon on *Judges* all use the same type as the first, except that the third issue substitutes a new quire of two leaves for the sheets bearing the title page and dedication. Quite a number of small corrections and accidental additional errors were introduced as the sheets of the first issue were being run off, and between the times of printing of the three issues themselves; but the changes in wording are very few. In four places, mistakes in some sheets of the first issue appear corrected in other sheets of the same issue; the errata listed in the first issue are corrected in the second and third; one additional error in the first and second issues is corrected in the third; and in seven places the third issue falls into slight errors not present in the first and second, such as the accidental omission of a terminal "s" in a plural noun. A number of marginal references are in the first issue, or in some copies of that issue, and are missing in the other two issues. In two places the references are in all the copies we have examined of the first and third issues, but are omitted in the second. These and all the other variants in the three printings of the sermon, and in different states of the same issue, are clearly errors and corrections made by the printers.

Sermons on Matthew 6.21 and James 2.12.—The sermons on *Matthew* 6.21 and *James* 2.12 can conveniently be considered together, for both were printed twice in *F 26,* in two different sections of that volume. We call the first printing (as Sermons 3 and 5) the A text, and the second (as Sermons 16 and 17) the B text. We accept the suggestion put forward by John Sparrow[17] that two different manuscript copies of the sermon on *Matthew* 6.21, found probably in two separate manuscript volumes, were "inadvertently supposed to be of different sermons." Sparrow continues: "...it seems that those copies were an ordinary copy (no. 16) and an 'exscribed' copy (no. 5) respectively. If so, the exscribing in this case meant the writing out, without any substantial change (except the introduction of a fuller and more formal heading), of the original copy with systematic capitals, italics, and punctuation.... Comparison further reveals that where there is any substantial variation, almost invariably, no. 5 is right, and it seems

[17] *Op. cit.,* p. 177. Sparrow does not mention the sermon on *James* 2.12, but exactly the same argument will explain the differences in the A and B texts of this sermon also.

that the errors of no. 16 result from the misreading of a closely and not clearly written original." We think it hardly necessary to make this distinction between an "exscribed" and an "ordinary" copy when considering these two sermons, though Sparrow is right in asserting that the A text is generally (though not "almost invariably") much superior to the B text.[18] The difference between the two versions of the sermon on *James* 2.12 is less markedly in favor of the A text,[19] but there again the A text is superior in spelling and punctuation. As an example of the general superiority of the A text in text and punctuation, take the following passage (*F 26,* p. 68).[20] "But alas! who amongst us, does receive *in utraque,* so, as that when he receives Bread and Wine, he receives with a true sorrow for former, and a true resolution against future sins? Except the Lord of heaven create new hearts in us, of our selves, we have *Cor nullum,* no heart; all vanishes into Incogitancy. Except the Lord of heaven con-centre our affections, of our selves, we have *Cor & Cor,* a cloven, a divided heart...." This appears in the B text (*F 26,* p. 226) as "but alas, who amongst us doth receive in *utraque* so, as that when he receives bread and wine, he receives with a tru sorrow for former, and a tru resolution against future sins; Except the Lord of heaven create new hearts in us, of our selves we have (*Cor nullum*) no heart; all vanishes into incogitancies except, the Lord of heaven can center our affections, of our selves we have *Cor & Cor,* a cloven, a divided heart...." Here the reading of A "con-centre," as opposed to "can centre" in B, is supported by the passage on page 66 in which Donne says "Not to be able to con-centre those doubts,

[18] In the sermon on *Matthew* 6.21 we find that, apart from matters of punctuation, there are fifty-five variants in which the A text is superior to the B, four in which B is superior to A, and about eighteen in which there is little to choose between A and B (e.g., forms like "does" and "doth" which are both used by Donne).

[19] In this sermon there are fifty-five variants in which the A reading is superior to the B, twenty-nine in which the B is superior to the A, and about twenty in which there is little to choose between them.

[20] References to specific passages from sermons, cited in these Introductions, are to the pagination and lineation of the Folios, unless otherwise indicated. As the sermons concerned appear in print in the successive volumes of the present edition, cross references will be supplied so that the reader will then be able to look up the passage without having to gain access to the Folios themselves.

which arise in my self . . . is rather a vertiginous giddiness . . ." where B reads ". . . con-center" also (p. 225).

Sermon on Ecclesiastes 12.1—Of the sermons which are found both in printed texts and in seventeenth-century manuscripts, the two most important are the sermon on *Ecclesiastes* 12.1 (*A Sermon of Valediction*) and the sermon on *Matthew* 21.44.[21] The first of these appeared in two printed versions, and also in five of the six extant manuscripts. It differs from all Donne's other sermons in one respect, namely, that it exists in two distinct forms, one represented by the pirated *Sapientia Clamitans* (*S*), and by five manuscripts (*A, Dob, D, L, M*), and the other, the revised form found in *F 26*.

The two sermons were printed in 1932, edited by E. M. Simpson.[22] A comparison of the two shows that in his revised draft Donne made alterations in almost every sentence. He altered or omitted words and phrases, and sometimes he omitted whole sentences. Here and there he left out vivid dramatic touches which were effective in the pulpit but were less suitable for publication. On the whole, the version of *F 26* is decidedly superior to that found in the manuscripts and *Sapientia Clamitans*. It is more concise and pointed, and many loose and shambling sentences have been rewritten. It contains, however, some gross misprints, such as *"Emanuel,* a bosome book" for "a *manuall,* a bosome book," and "Remember thy Creator, and remember thy Creator" for *"Remember the Creator:* and *Remember thy Creator."* Again, *S* has "profession," which in most of the manuscripts appears

[21] Three sermons, in addition to those already considered, exist only in printed versions but in more than one text. The sermon on *Psalms* 68.20—"Deaths Duell," to give it its more familiar title—presents so many special textual problems, some of them with little or no relation to those that concern any other sermon, that we are postponing a discussion of it to Volume X of the present edition, in which the sermon is to be included. A brief comment on our basic text for this sermon will, however, be found on p. 80 of the present volume. The two sermons on *Genesis* 1.26 occur in *F 50* and *Q 6* only. These sermons will be discussed later in the present Introduction, since the problems relating to the text of *Q 6* are best solved by considering sermons that appear in it and in some of the manuscripts as well.

[22] *Donne's Sermon of Valediction at his Going into Germany, preached at Lincoln's Inn, April 18, 1619* . . . edited by Evelyn Mary Simpson, London, Nonesuch Press, 1932.

in the usual contracted form. The printer of *F 26* misread the contraction and printed "passion," completely obscuring the meaning.

S is a well-printed octavo volume. It contains two types of variants from the standard form of the early text: (1) those contained in the lost manuscript from which it was derived, and (2) those due to William Milbourne's editorship. In the first class are thirty-four variants which *S* shares with *M*. In two passages *M* and *S* omit a clause which is found in *A, Dob, D, L,* and which is certainly genuine. In both these passages homoeoteleuton is the cause of the omission. In eight passages *M* and *S* agree in omitting either one or two words found in *A, Dob, D, L.* Manuscripts *M* and *S* also agree in reading "gives" for "presents" (Simpson, p. 16, line 8),[23] "stay" for "sticke" (p. 39, line 13), "dissolution" for "dissolving" (p. 42, line 6), and in twenty-one minor variants such as "it" for "us," "unto" for "upon," "lame" for "lam'd," and the like.

Variants in which *S* stands alone, and which must be ascribed to William Milbourne's editorship,[24] are such changes as "head" for "braine" (p. 16, line 5), *"stomachus animæ,* The Stomacke of the soule" for "stomachus animæ" (p. 17, line 14), "its proper shape" for "the true shape to him" (p. 24, line 12), "Creation of the world" for "six dayes" (p. 26, line 14), *"holy Catholick Church"* for "Catholique Church" (p. 30, line 20), "or whilst thou art able to make thy choice" for "when thou enjoyest whatsoever thy heart can wish" (p. 34, lines 4–5). Milbourne also introduced a number of small changes designed to bring quotations from the Bible into more exact agreement with the Authorized Version or the Vulgate. Donne often used the Geneva instead of the Authorized Version, and he sometimes quoted the Vulgate from memory not very accurately. Thus where *A, Dob, D, L, M* read "it is said in our translation, The holy Ghost was not given, because Christ was not glorified," *S* reads "it is said in our translation, *The Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet*

[23] Since the Folio text is here quite different, references are given to E. M. Simpson, *Donne's Sermon of Valediction,* 1932 (Nonesuch Press).

[24] Such variants might conceivably have originated in the manuscript that served as Milbourne's direct source; but since that manuscript no longer exists, and no differences between it and the printed text of *S* can be determined, it is simpler to assume that which is much more probable, that the variants come from Milbourne.

glorified." Again, where *A, Dob, D, L, M* read *"in diebus electionum"* (Simpson, p. 36, line 2), *S* supplies *tuarum* after *electionum*.

Thus, while *S* supplies an easier and better punctuated text than any of the manuscripts, it is quite unreliable as a guide to the exact words of Donne's early draft. The five manuscripts contain a large number of scribal blunders and omissions, but they do not deliberately tamper with Donne's text. By comparison of one with another we can eliminate their errors and arrive at the text substantially as Donne preached it.

Of these five manuscripts, the best text is offered us by *Dob* and *M*. *A* is a poor manuscript, which contains about two hundred variants, almost all of which can be rejected. *D* and *L* contain so many variants in which they stand apart from all the rest that they must be derived from a common source, which introduced a large number of errors not found in *A, Dob, M,* and *S*. At least twice, *A* joins with *D* and *L* against the others in ways that make probable a closer connection between *A* and *D L* than between *A* and *M Dob S:* once *A D L* reverse the order of *M Dob S,* and once add a word to *M Dob S*.[25] We cannot claim that any of the extant manuscripts was immediately derived from Donne's original autograph. We have seen that *M* and *S* had a common source, which introduced a number of variants that are clearly errors; therefore *M* is not directly derived from the autograph. Evidence from other sermons will show us that *Dob* also was derived from an intermediate manuscript which introduced a number of errors.

Sermon on Matthew 21.44.—The sermon on *Matthew* 21.44 appears in two printed editions plus four manuscripts. If one uses as a tentative norm for the text of this sermon the readings of *F*[26] (a reasonable initial presumption being that *F* is a comparatively reliable text), and classifies the variants according to the ways in which they agree or disagree with *F* and with one another, the results are at first sight confusing, since the editions and manuscripts seem to combine in almost every

[25] Simpson edition, p. 30, line 17; *A,* "perfected and consummated," *D L,* "prefixed and consummated," *M Dob S,* "consummated and perfited" [or "perfected"]; p. 16, line 24: *A D L* "that first Remember," *M Dob S,* "that, Remember."

[26] I.e., *F 50,* the Folio of 1649.

conceivable fashion. Study of the *nature* of the variants, however, removes this apparent confusion (which it seems unnecessary to inflict upon the reader), and makes clear that when certain manuscripts combine against others, the fact often has important significance, but often again is trivial, or obviously the result of mere coincidence, and can be disregarded.

Q 6 and *Dob* vary far more widely from *F* than does any other text or combination of texts, *Q* standing alone against all the other texts 203 times, and *Q* and *Dob* together against the others 183 times. In an essay published some years ago,[27] John Hayward drew attention to the large number of differences between the text of the sermons in *Six Sermons* and that of the same sermons in the Folios, and expressed the tentative opinion that *Q 6* represents an earlier form of those sermons, *F* the final form as revised by Donne himself. A consideration of the other available versions, however, brings to light a far less simple situation than that which Hayward had in mind. Actually, none of the hundreds of times when *Q 6* and *Dob* together stand against *F* and the other manuscripts, or when *Q 6* alone does, can reasonably be considered as indicating an earlier wording by Donne himself.

The variants occurring in both *Q* and *Dob* are somewhat different in kind from those occurring in *Q* alone. Where *Q* and *Dob* stand together against the other texts, the variants are nearly all clear errors resulting (1) from carelessness of transcription or misreading of a partly illegible original, or (2) from attempts by a copyist to make sense out of what was originally carelessness or misreading. Most are slight, the addition or omission of terminal "s" in nouns or verbs, the substitution of "to" for "unto," "so" for "as," "amongst" for "among," etc. A good many consist in the omission of words or short phrases by *Dob* and *Q*, not necessarily from homoeoteleuton, but from too hasty transcription (examples are the omission of "Almighty" on p. 312, line 50, and of "and his peace" on p. 314, line 17). Occasionally there is a reversal of order, as on page 312, line 3, where *Dob* and *Q* have "noe revenge, no anger" while all other texts read "no anger, no revenge." A smaller, but considerable, number are more serious changes, that make a sort of half-sense, but not good sense, and certainly not a

[27] "A Note on Donne the Preacher," in *A Garland for John Donne,* Cambridge, Mass., 1931.

sense intended by Donne (examples are "spirituous quarrelsomness" in *Dob* and *Q*, instead of "spirit of quarrelsomnesse," p. 313, line 12; "builded" instead of "united," p. 314, line 8; "it desire to come" instead of "thou discerne it to come," p. 315, line 12). A more glaring example of careless copying is one fairly long passage (p. 314, lines 54–56) in which *Dob* and *Q* make nonsense out of what is in the other texts a perfectly clear sentence. *Dob* and *Q* read, "he enters into sheets every night as though his executors had closed him, as though his neighbours next day were to shrowd and wind him in those sheets." All the other texts read, "he enters into his sheets every night, as though his neighbours next day were to shrowd and wind him in those sheets; he shuts up his eyes every night, as though his Executors had closed them." Rarely, a change occurs for which no definite reason can be assigned, such as that from "for the" to "as a" on page 314, line 33; but against one or two of this sort stand scores of changes that are clearly mistakes.[28] It is extremely unlikely that any variant common to *Q* and *Dob*, and not existing in other texts, can represent an earlier wording by Donne or can be considered as anything but a scribal error.

The person who transcribed the manuscript from which *Q* itself was printed was definitely more careless and irresponsible than his predecessor who made the manuscript from which both *Q* and *Dob* stem. This conclusion follows, not merely from the number of changes in which *Q* stands alone—though the fact that it is even greater than the number common to *Dob* and *Q* has some significance in itself,—but also from the nature of the changes. Many of the variants in *Q* are glaring and gratuitous, not springing from simple misreading, or a cautious attempt to make sense out of a misreading, or homoeoteleuton, as do the variants common to *Dob* and *Q*. In fact, some of the variants in *Q* change the sense of *F* and all the other texts so radically that one might adopt Hayward's theory and think of them as representing Donne's own earlier writing, were it not for the very plain fact that no one of them gives as good sense as *F* (and the other texts), and a considerable number give only a sort of half-sense, so that it is

[28] A considerable number of these obvious errors, selected from the total of nearly two hundred, will be listed in the critical apparatus to this sermon. It would be sheer waste of space to list every one, and we have decided not to do so.

easy to imagine an unscrupulous scribe misreading and then paraphrasing thoughtlessly, but impossible to imagine Donne as ever having written the passages in *Q* once those passages are compared with *F*. (The fact that *all* the other texts stand against these readings in *Q* adds, of course, to the unlikelihood that any of them can come from Donne's own pen; but this point will become clearer a little later in our discussion.) These gratuitous changes in sense, made with little or no feeling of responsibility toward the manuscript that was being copied, mark the chief difference between the changes peculiar to *Q* and those common to *Q* and *Dob*. Examples could be tediously multiplied; we list only a few here. On page 312, line 53, "danger" becomes in *Q* "danger in the storm" (here *Q's* addition is awkward and utterly superfluous, since "in the storm" already occurs a bit earlier in the sentence, and there is no added clarity; Donne himself would never have written the version of *Q*). On page 314, line 17, "make" becomes (with considerable damage to the sense) "consider." On page 316, line 44, *"reservatur"* becomes *"revocatur,"* the latter making sense but a completely different sense from that in which the text immediately proceeds to translate the word (*"reservatur per pœnitentiam ad salutem,* that man is reserved by Gods purpose, to come by repentance, to salvation"). A number of times, interestingly, *Q* and *Dob* both vary from *F* (and all the other texts) in the same general direction, but *Q* is farther away from *F* than is *Dob;* examples are on page 311, lines 6–7, where *F* and the rest read "over thorny," *Dob,* "thorny," and *Q,* "through many"; and on page 318, line 33, where *F* and the rest read "supplantation," *Dob,* "supplantations," and *Q,* "supplications." What happened in each of the foregoing two examples can easily be inferred: the common manuscript—source for *Dob* and *Q*—had an accidental omission of "over" in the one passage and an addition of "-s" in the other; *Dob* copied correctly from this common source, while *Q* diverged farther and more seriously.

Many changes occurring only in *Q* are, of course, small slips, such as the omission or slight miscopying of an unimportant word, the omission of occasional phrases through homoeoteleuton, slight reversals of order in wording, and the like; in respect to such errors, *Q* differs from other texts only in having a larger number and so showing itself to be more careless. Our general conclusion is, then, that of all the texts of this sermon the one in *Q* is the least reliable.

The twenty-eight places where *Dob* stands alone against the others, for this sermon, can be summarized briefly. The differences are for the most part the usual slight slips, omissions of words, etc. In perhaps half a dozen, the copyist of *Dob* shows a tendency to add an unimportant word or so to his source, or to change one word to another to suit his personal preference; at least, it is hard to see how a mere error in reading could have caused him to write "turned" instead of "changed," on page 311, line 18, and "therefore" instead of "then," on page 316, line 2. The number of such errors is, however, so very small that they do not detract from the general accuracy of the manuscript. It is, altogether, a decidedly good copy; although one must keep in mind the fact that it shares with *Q* nearly two hundred other errors—in other words, that it was an admirably accurate copy of a not very good source manuscript.

Eighty-eight times, *F* stands alone against all the extant manuscripts. The variants are of three general kinds: (1) obvious miscopyings, printer's errors, or accidental omissions of words or phrases; (2) small variations that might be accidental or might be deliberate; and (3) about thirty-five changes that seem clearly to have been deliberate, and that definitely improve the style in *F*. The third group of variants is most significant. Twenty-eight of them are additions of words in *F* that do not occur in any of the other texts, the added words being explanatory or clarificatory of the meaning. None of them occur in the earliest paragraphs of the sermon; but when once they begin, they continue to appear frequently through the rest of it. Five times, "that is" is added in context that makes the phrase clarificatory. Six times, single words are added that clarify the phrases to which they are added.[29] Twice, English phrases are added that translate Latin phrases immediately preceding (a practice that is very common with Donne). In sixteen passages, whole phrases are added that are all definitely clarificatory.[30] None of the sixteen words or phrases added in *F* repre-

[29] These are the additions of "false," on p. 313, line 39; "sinful," p. 314, line 1; "that" and "to" (in the phrase "to a broken"), p. 318, lines 19–20; and "own" (twice), p. 319, lines 47–48.

[30] Namely, "as he is," p. 315, line 48; "as Christ is a stone," p. 315, line 52; "all the way," p. 316, line 7; "in no Church," p. 316, line 37; "he erreth, though in the true Church," p. 316, lines 39–40; "that fals and hath a sense of his fall," p. 316, line 44; "of God," p. 317, line 10; "(this stone is Christ),

sents the addition of a phrase *necessary* to make sense; all improve upon a shorter version that, taken by itself, has meaning and could quite well have come from Donne's pen. There is no possibility that the phrases in *F* were omitted in the other texts through carelessness or homoeoteleuton, for all the other texts omit them, and (as will be seen presently) some of these texts are demonstrably unrelated to others except through the primary, original source (presumably a now nonexistent manuscript in Donne's own hand) common to them all. The facts indicate beyond question, in our opinion, that these changes were deliberate and intelligent revisions, made on a basis of the text which was the common source for all the manuscripts as well as for *Q*, and made for the manuscript that later became the printer's copy for *F*. They are, in short, almost certainly revisions by Donne himself. We agree, then, *to a certain very limited extent* with Hayward's opinion that there are variants in *Q* which represent an earlier version of this sermon; but the earlier version is represented only in the thirty-odd places where *Q* agrees with all the manuscripts, not at all in the nearly four hundred variants in which *Q*, or *Q* and *Dob*, or *M*, *Q*, and *Dob*, differ from the others.[31] *F* is, then, for this sermon a

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that is, till he meete," p. 317, line 21; "according to," p. 317, line 32; "as now to us," p. 318, line 11; "(Christ Jesus)," p. 318, line 13; "and fall," p. 318, line 16; "no mercy," p. 318, line 43; "no compassion, no sorrow: and," p. 318, line 44; "and may, and are wont to cure," p. 319, lines 2–3; "his singular observing of Sabbaths," p. 319, line 18; *"the more,"* p. 319, bottom line.

[31] Of seventeen passages from this sermon listed by Hayward as examples of Donne's revision—many of the passages as listed being fairly extended, and containing a number of different variants in details—only three contain any variant readings that, when *all* the available texts are compared, can possibly be attributed to Donne's revision. These are (1) the passage cited from p. 318, lines 40 ff. of *F 50*, where the "nor" of *Q* instead of "neither" in *F*, the omission in *Q* of "no mercy" and "no compassion, no sorrow," and the addition in *Q* of "further" are in all texts except *F* and may be changes by Donne (though, even here, only the two phrases added in *F* can be attributed to him with any high degree of probability); (2) the brief passage quoted from p. 319, line 46 of *F*, where "other mens infirmities" is in *F* alone, and is probably Donne's own change; and the passage (cited separately from most of the others, on p. 95 of Hayward's essay) from p. 315, lines 30 ff., of *F*, where *Q* and all other texts read "that Rock," and

revised text, but not extensively revised; *Q* and all the manuscripts stemmed originally from an earlier version, but not a version that was radically different from the later revised text.

The variant readings that are peculiar to *M*, the Wilfred Merton Manuscript, are mainly of two sorts. First, there are egregious blunders in the copying of Latin words and phrases—miscopyings that frequently produce words which are no language at all, such as "Judaciam," "Cumuniam," and "istancari," or that make no grammatical or other sense in the context.[32] They were obviously copied mechanically, and by a copyist who did not know Latin. Second, there are the usual types of accidental slips of the eye or of the mind that occur in all manuscript copies. Rarely, if ever, do there occur in *M* those attempts to make half-sense out of what was originally a miscopying which are so common in *Q* and in the common source of *Q* and *Dob*. The errors in *M* are either so small that they do not affect the meaning of the passage, or are miscopyings that leave the passage making no sense at all.[33] A student can, then, rely upon the copyist of *M* as a person who tried to set down what he actually saw, not what he thought he ought to see or what he thought Donne ought to have written.

It will be enlightening to look next at the variants common to *Q*, *Dob*, and *M*. The number of these variants (nineteen, according to our count) is not large; but some of them are of such a nature as to make it certain that there is a connection among the three manuscripts,

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the phrase "the same Rock" in *F* may possibly be Donne's change. All other variants included in these and the rest of the passages cited by Hayward from this sermon are merely errors originating in *Q*, or in the common source of *Q* and *Dob*, or (in a few passages) the common source of *M*, *Q*, and *Dob*, or, lastly (in one or two), errors coming from a copyist or the printer of the text in *F*.

[32] These blunders in Latin are even more frequent in some of the other sermons copied in *M* than in the one here considered.

[33] Two examples of this tendency may suffice to illustrate it. On p. 316, line 46, in the phrase, "this man that fals there, fals not so desperately, as that he feels nothing between hell and him," *M* omits "he," leaving the last part of the phrase meaningless. Another characteristic error is on p. 315, line 45; *F* and the other texts read "these stones," *M* reads "this stones." The latter slip, it is apparent, was of the eye only, and the copyist kept faithfully to the original "stones" instead of altering it to make grammatical sense.

a common source from which they stem and from which *D* and *L* do not. On page 317, line 37, for example, *F, D,* and *L* read "perfect," while *M, Dob,* and *Q* read "confident." Such a change might easily be imagined as coming from *Q* alone, or from the common source of *Dob* and *Q;* but by no stretch of the imagination can we visualize that particular change occurring to two copyists independently. Three slightly more complicated situations lead even more clearly to the same conclusion. On page 312, line 47, *F, D,* and *L* read "unspeakable," *M* and *Dob* read "unexpressible," and *Q* "inexpressible." The variant in *Q* could easily be a slight miscopying of "unexpressible," but not of "unspeakable." On page 312, line 55, *F, D,* and *L* read "knowledge and confidence," *M* and *Dob,* "courage and confidence," *Q,* "confidence and courage." The reversal of order is clearly an independent error of *Q;* but the only way of accounting for "courage" in *Q, M,* and *Dob* alike is to conclude that they are related. In spite of the comparatively small number of variants which they have in common, then, *M, Dob,* and *Q* seem undoubtedly related to one another more clearly than they are—or than any one of them is—to *F, D,* or *L.*

Consideration of the variants in *D* and *L* confirms the opinion we have already expressed with respect to the text of *A Sermon of Valediction,*[84] that these two manuscripts are closely related. (The most conclusive evidence of all, for this relationship, is in the sermon on *Psalms* 38.9, which will be discussed later.)[85] Many of these variants are slight, but a sizable number can be explained only by positing a common source for the two manuscripts. The most striking of these are in passages that exist in more than two variant forms. One clause (p. 317, lines 38–39) reads in *F,* "—if they fall upon this stone, that is, sinne, and yet stoppe at Christ, after the sinne, this stone shall breake them; that is, breake their force"; *M* and *Dob* read, "—if they fall upon this stone, sinne, and stoppe at Christ, this shall breake them, breake their force"; *Q* reads, "—they fall upon; if this stone sink and stop at Christ, this shall break them, break their force"; and *D* and *L* read, "—and stoope at Christ, this stone shall breake them, breake their force." The longer version of *F,* with the characteristic addition of "that is" twice, and of the clarificatory phrase, "after the sinne," is clearly a revision of

[84] See *ante,* p. 57.

[85] See *post,* pp. 70–71.

an original shorter version in the source from which *Q* and all the manuscripts originally stem.[36] *M* and *Dob* seem to have copied the original version correctly; *Q* to have carelessly misplaced "if," misread "sinne" as "sink," and then changed punctuation to make the resulting nonsense into some kind of sense; and *D* and *L* to have accidentally omitted "if they fall upon this stone, sinne," and misread "stoppe" as "stoope." The resemblance between *D* and *L* can hardly be due to coincidence. Again, on page 319, line 46, there is a three-way division; *F* reading "other mens infirmities," *M, Dob,* and *Q,* "our Enemies," and *D* and *L,* "our sinnes." Of these readings, that of *F* is distinctly the best stylistically and for its sense; that of *M Dob Q* makes good sense but is inferior stylistically to that of *F;* and that of *D L* is least satisfactory. The conclusion seems inevitable that Donne's earlier autograph manuscript read "our enemies," that *M, Dob,* and *Q* copied correctly, that the common source of *D* and *L* misread the noun as "sinnes," and that *F* represents an artistically sensitive revision by Donne himself. This common source of *D* and *L* was, evidently, a better transcript than the one from which *Dob* and *Q* were copied, but not as good as *M,* or as the manuscript from which *M* and the common source of *Dob* and *Q* were copied.[37]

The variants which *L* has alone, against all the other texts, are either slight slips of omission or miscopyings that make no particular difference to the sense, or similar slips—almost all of single words—that damage the sense seriously, having a vague meaning that seems reasonable at first glance but does not stand close examination. They are all clearly errors, and as such can be disregarded.

The changes in which *D* stands alone are, for this particular sermon, insignificant and slight, except for two or three errors in single words that seem slips of the eye rather than rationalizations, and except for a very few small additions of unimportant words that do not improve the sense or change it greatly.

[36] See *ante,* pp. 61–63, for evidence that such revisions are frequent, and are almost certainly by Donne himself.

[37] Sparrow in 1930 noted the close relation of *D* to *L* (*op. cit.,* p. 176), though at the time he had been able to compare only one sermon in the two manuscripts. He also concluded, correctly (p. 178), that "*Fifty Sermons* is not a reprint of *Six Sermons,* and some of the variants are such that it is impossible to suppose that they have an immediate common ancestor."

From the evidence of the sermon on *Matthew* 21.44, then, the following conclusions seem inescapable:

1) That from Donne's original autograph (or, less probably, dictated) copy of this sermon one comparatively accurate copy (now lost) was made which served as the common source for *M, Dob,* and *Q,* and another less accurate copy (also now lost) that was the common source for *D* and *L;*

2) That *M* is, on the whole, an admirably faithful copy of a good source;

3) That a more careless copy of that same source was also made (now lost), that served as the common source for *Dob* and *Q;*

4) That *F 50* comes from a different primary source containing moderate though not radical revisions by Donne himself;[38]

5) That *F 50* is the most reliable text of this sermon, and the only one containing Donne's later revisions; *M* is the next most valuable text; *Dob* is an admirably faithful copy, but of a source which itself contains many errors; *D* and *L* come from a source less trustworthy than that from which *M* copied but better than that which served for *Dob* and *Q; D* is a more accurate transcript of its source than is *L;* and the printed text of *Q* comes from a manuscript that is the worst, least responsible transcript of them all.

The sermons existing in less than six different early texts can be considered more briefly, and in considering them we shall stress simply the respects in which they modify the conclusions, given above, which are drawn from our more extended studies of the sermons on *Ecclesiastes* 12.1 and *Matthew* 21.44.

Sermons on John 5.22 and John 8.15.—The sermons on *John* 5.22 and *John* 8.15 may be considered together, since they are clearly related in subject and occur together in the same five texts. Because they do not occur in *Dob,* the variants in them where *M* and *Q* combine against *F 50* must be considered as variants which—according to our previous conclusions—stem from the common source of *M, Dob,* and *Q,* while it is impossible to tell whether the many variants in *Q* stem

[38] Since some of the variant readings peculiar to *F* are clearly errors, and seem more like copyist's than like printer's errors, it seems unlikely that the revisions were made on the same manuscript that served as primary source for the earlier texts.

from *Q* alone or from the common source of *Q* and *Dob*. Where *M*, *Q*, *D*, and *L* combine against *F*, it is reasonable to assume that we have variants in *F* alone, since *Dob*, in the sermons that appear in it, seldom agrees with *F* as against *M* and *Q*.

The variants attributable to *F* alone are somewhat different from those of the same sort in the sermon on *Matthew* 21.44, since they include no additions that definitely clarify or improve the style. In fact, none of the changes peculiar to *F* in the sermon on *John* 8.15 is of a sort that can confidently be attributed to the author's revision. Several in the sermon on *John* 5.22, on the other hand, can; for at least two bring the passages concerned close to the wording of the Authorized Version of the Bible,[39] and others are clear and evident improvements in style.

It would seem likely that in revising his sermons, during one or the other of the two periods when we know he was doing so,[40] Donne concluded that the sermon on *John* 8.15 needed practically no revision at all, and that the sermon on *John* 5.22 needed some few changes but not the sort of clarification he felt desirable for the sermon on *Matthew* 21.44.

The variants coming from *Q 6* far outnumber those from any other source, in both of the sermons on *John*, and confirm our previous conclusions about the nature of *Q 6*. Likewise, nothing need be added to our previous comments on the variants in *M*, except the observation that in these two and some other sermons *M* occasionally stands alone in correcting a Scriptural reference, a fact which may indicate that the copyist of *M* was better acquainted with Scripture than he was with Latin. *D* continues to show that it is a better copy of its source than is *L*, and that the common source of *D* and *L* is of average but not better then average reliability. Passage after passage confirms our previous conclusion that *M* and *Q* are connected, and that they are not related (except through the original source of all the early versions) to *D* and *L*.

[39] One of the two is particularly interesting. On p. 95, line 25, of *F 50*, *Q*, *M*, *L*, and *D* read "mountains," which is clearly derived from the word "montes" in the Vulgate, while *F* reads "hills," the word used in the Authorized Version. Donne tended to use the latter version more consistently in the latter part of his clerical career.

[40] Cf. *ante*, pp. 46–47.

Sermon on Colossians 1.24.—The sermon on *Colossians* 1.24 appears in four texts, *F 50, M, D,* and *L.* No evidence from variants in this sermon disturbs the conclusions already reached concerning the connection between *D* and *L,* the separation of these two texts from *M,* and the relation of *F 50* to the rest. If one can, then, infer that variants in which *M, D,* and *L* all stand against *F* are variants in *F* alone (as, on our previous reasoning, practically all of them must be), this sermon shows, even more clearly than the sermon on *Matthew* 21.44, evidence of author's revisions in *F.* There are in *F* at least thirty-seven additions of phrases definitely clarificatory or explanatory, as well as a number of other small changes that obviously improve the style. Two of the places in which *F* stands alone against the other texts are, however, exceptions. On page 128, lines 35–36, *F 50* reads, *"Sed innuitur ille sensus; qui etsi non genuinus, tamen à pari deduci potest:* some such sense (says that author) may be implied and intimated, because, though it be not the true and naturall sense, yet by way of comparison, and convenience, such a meaning may be deduced." *M, D,* and *L* all read, *"Sed . . . potest:* some such may bee (saies that [*D,* the] Author) may bee implied," etc. On page 134, line 31, *F* reads, "Let none of you suffer as a murtherer," etc., while *M, D,* and *L* all omit the word "suffer." Donne could hardly have written the version that appears in the three manuscripts, even in an earlier draft, for the omission of the words "sense" and "suffer," in the passages, results in nonsense, and in the second of the two "suffer" appears in the very Biblical text Donne is quoting. The three variants seem explainable by one of three possibilities: (1) that Donne's original and earlier manuscript of this sermon was dictated and not written by him, (2) that Donne himself in first writing out his sermons made some slips of the pen, or (3) that the source of the manuscripts was a reported shorthand text of this sermon.

Sermons on Psa. 144.15, I Tim. 3.16, Hos. 2.19, and II Cor. 4.6.—Four sermons are found in *P,* a manuscript not yet discussed. The sermons on *Psalms* 144.15 and *I Timothy* 3.16 occur in *F 80* and *F 26,* respectively, and in *M, D,* and *L* as well as *P.* The sermon on *Hosea* 2.19 occurs in *F 50, Q, M,* and *P;* and that on *II Corinthians* 4.6, in *F 26, M,* and *P.* A number of the variants in *P* prove that it was derived from the same source as *M,* which has been shown to be the best of all the

extant manuscripts.[41] All four sermons in *P*, it will be noted, are in *M* as well. *P* agrees with *M* in stating that the sermon on *Hosea* 2.19 was preached at the marriage of "Mr. Washington" in St. Clement's Church. In the same sermon there are eighty-six variants in which *P* agrees with *M* against *Q* and *F*. *P* itself is, however, despite its good source, a particularly bad manuscript, carelessly written and full of mistakes and omissions. Its scribe was particularly prone to the mistake of homoeoteleuton.[42]

No new light is thrown on the nature of *D* and *L* by the sermons on *Psalms* 144.15 and *I Timothy* 3.16; their variant texts confirm the conclusions given earlier in the present discussion, that *D* and *L* have a common source, rather poor in itself, which *D* represents more accurately than *L*. There are a certain number of variant passages in the sermons on *Psalms* 144.15, *Hosea* 2.19, and *II Corinthians* 4.6, as there are in the sermons on *Matthew* 21.44, *John* 5.22, and *Colossians* 1.24,[43] which give evidence that the text of these sermons in *F* is a revised draft by Donne of the earlier text which is common to the manuscripts; though the alterations in all these sermons are slight in comparison with those of *A Sermon of Valediction* (on *Ecclesiastes* 12.1).[44]

[41] *P* cannot have been copied from *M* itself, for it contains words and phrases which are wrongly omitted by *M;* e.g., in the sermon on *Psalms* 144.15, *M* omits "is never the better" (*F 80,* p. 752), a phrase found in *F,* and also in *P* and the other two manuscripts in which the sermon occurs. Also, *P* does not reproduce certain blunders found in *M* alone, such as "is" for "are," "Matth." for "Mar.," "and" for "as," "blessings" for "blessednesse."

[42] The sermon on *Hosea* 2.19 shows 108 variants, all of them negligible, in which *P* stands alone; and in the very long sermon on *II Corinthians* 4.6, *P* stands alone in as many as 489 variants, according to our count. The copy of this last sermon in *M* is excellent, even more so than the copies of other sermons in *M;* we find only 87 small variants in which *M* stands alone.

[43] See *ante,* pp. 61–63, 67, and 68.

[44] In the sermon on *Psalms* 144.15, for example (*F 80,* p. 751, lines 13–14), *M, P, D,* and *L* all contain after the words, "No man ever lost his faith, but he that thought it not worth the keeping," the phrase, "and the spirituall blessings of a faithfull man are never lost totally; though he fall into sins of infirmity, though he fall into scruples of [in *P*] matter [*M,* matters] of faith, yet there is *Semen dei* [*P,* the seede of God] in him, all is not lost." It is impossible to suppose that the scribes of the manuscripts in-

In the sermon on *Hosea* 2.19, *Q* agrees with *F* in containing the revised readings,[45] whereas in the sermons on *Matthew* 21.44, *John* 5.22, and *Colossians* 1.24, *Q* agrees with the manuscripts in containing the earlier readings. Also, in the sermon on *Hosea* 2.19 the text of *F* contains an unusually large number of blunders, which can be corrected from the manuscripts and from *Q*, which has a better text than usual.

Sermon on Psalms 38.9.—The sermon on *Psalms* 38.9 is unique among the extant sermons in that it is in four of the manuscripts but in no seventeenth-century printed text. In the variant manuscript versions of this sermon is found conclusive evidence that *D* and *L* come from a common source, evidence even clearer than that existing in the sermons we have already considered. A comparison of the latter part of this sermon as it exists in *Dob* and *M* with the text as it appears in *D* and *L* makes immediately apparent the fact that a section of more than five hundred words is in *Dob* and *M* about three-quarters of the way through the sermon, and in *D* and *L* almost at the end of it. Fur-

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vented these words. They must have formed part of Donne's original draft, and in revising he decided to omit them. In fact the sentence, as it stands in *F*, is more effective without them. Again, on p. 752, lines 21–22, *F* reads "so to them, who have temporall blessings without spirituall, they are but uselesse blessings . . ." Here *D, L, M, P* read, instead of "uselesse blessings," "stolne blessings, for they belong truely to the servants of God." It appears that Donne originally wrote the sentence in this form, but in his revision he decided that in calling the temporal blessings of worldly men "stolen" he had gone too far. The context shows that there is here no question of ill-gotten gains; the point is that temporal blessings unaccompanied by spiritual have no real value. The sentence is definitely improved by the change of "stolne" to "uselesse" and the omission of the clause "for they . . . God," found in *D, L, M,* and *P*. Also on p. 752, lines 43–44, *F* reads "there is a rich and blessed inheritance" where *D, L, M, P* read "there is a rich and infallible [*M*, an infallible] inheritance." Here Donne seems to have corrected "infallible" to "blessed" in his revision.

In other places in this sermon where *D, L, M, P* agree together against *F* the manuscripts are certainly right, and the reading of *F* must be regarded as a misprint, or due to a slip in Donne's manuscript; for example, *D, L, M,* and *P* read "and" for "end" in *F* (p. 750, line 26).

[45] A few variants pointing to this conclusion are as follows: *M P*, "ayme," *Q F*, "first use" (*F 50*, p. 17, line 12), *M P*, "ayme," *Q F*, "use" (p. 18, line 11, and p. 21, line 7), *M P*, "aymes," *Q F*, "uses" (p. 19, line 31), *M P* "beauty," *Q F*, "birth" (p. 18, line 30).

ther comparison makes clear also the fact that the passage is rightly placed in *Dob* and *M,* and wrongly placed in *D* and *L.* What must have happened is that in the manuscript which was the original of the common source of *D* and *L* a leaf somehow had become misplaced (perhaps detached and then put back wrongly); and that the scribe of the source manuscript for *D* and *L* saw that something was wrong, but did not realize what had really happened, and therefore tinkered with the passage, omitting an "of," changing "though" to "through," "write" to "waite," and "was" to "were," thus making some apparent improvement but actually confusing matters even more by disguising the fact that a wholesale dislocation had occurred. The scribes of *D* and *L* blindly followed their source, and thus Donne's argument was completely obscured. Fortunately *Dob* and *M* exist, and through them the true order can be restored.[48]

The version of this sermon in *M* shows the same characteristics that have already been noted for other sermons in that manuscript. An amusing, and characteristically honest, confession by the scribe that he is ignorant of Greek script is the phrase, "Here was a greake Sentence," which occurs in *M* in place of a passage of Greek included in all the other manuscripts. Characteristics of *D, L,* and *Dob* already described show themselves in this sermon as in the other sermons from these manuscripts.

Why did Donne's son omit to publish this sermon in *Fifty Sermons* together with the group of Lincoln's Inn sermons to which it naturally belongs? Its existence in four manuscripts shows that it was valued at the time, and was circulated among Donne's friends. Two explanations are possible: first, that the omission was due to mere carelessness; or second, that, as *F 50* was published in 1649 under the Common-

[48] The precise changes in text brought about by the foregoing circumstances will be listed in the critical apparatus to this sermon, in Volume II of the present edition. For a fuller account of the differences between *Dob* (there called by its Harvard case number, "Nor 4506") and *D,* see *A Sermon Preached at Lincoln's Inn by John Donne on the Ninth Verse of Psalm XXXVIII . . .* edited by G. R. Potter (Stanford University Press, 1946, 1948), pp. 8–19. That edition was made without access to the version of the sermon in *L,* and many of the strictures made by the editor on the scribe of *D* must therefore be applied a stage farther back, to the scribe of the manuscript which was the common source of *D* and *L.*

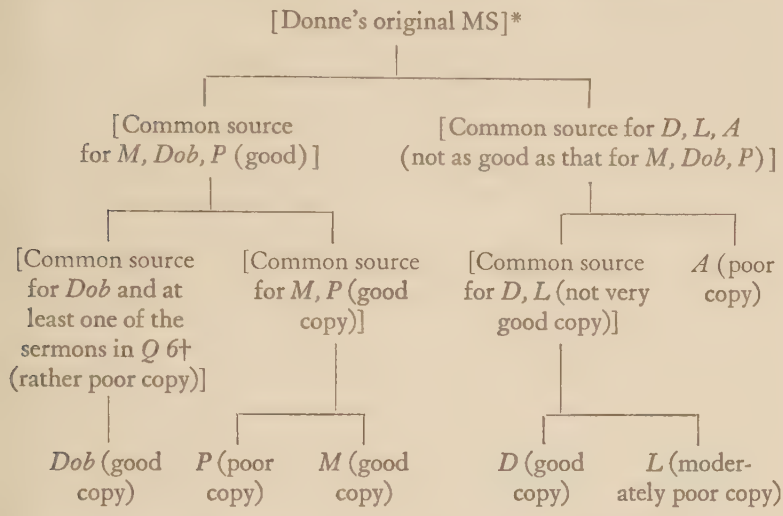
wealth, the younger Donne did not deem it prudent to include a sermon which recommended the practice of auricular confession. The latter seems the more probable explanation, and we may at least feel grateful to Donne's son that he chose to omit the sermon rather than to tamper with his father's work.

Six sermons appear only in *M* and in one of the Folios:[47] three being printed in *F 80,* two in *F 50,* and one in *F 26.* In the sermon on *Mark* 16.16, a considerable number of words or phrases are added in *F,* but not in *M,* which clarify a passage that makes reasonably good sense in both versions. These may therefore be attributed to Donne's revision. On the other hand, in the sermon on *I. Corinthians* 15.26 there are five places where *M* contains rather long phrases not present in *F.* In four out of the five, these are really necessary to the sense, and it is impossible to suppose that Donne deleted them deliberately when revising the sermon. We must therefore include them in our text, and must decide that the copy prepared for the press was for this sermon much less carefully transcribed than usual.

Two sermons on Genesis 1.26.—Two sermons on the same text, *Genesis* 1.26, appear in *F 50* and in *Q 6,* but not in any of the manuscripts. Little information can be gained from them concerning the nature of either *F* or *Q,* beyond that found in the sermons already considered. The large number of obvious omissions and blunders in the wording of these sermons that appears in *Q* is readily explainable from, and adds confirmation to, the conclusion we have already reached, that *Q* is for the most part quite untrustworthy. *F 50* is itself, however, by no means wholly satisfactory for these particular sermons, since in the use of italics and punctuation it is less in accord with Donne's practice than *Q,* and less so, too, than for most of the other sermons it includes within its own covers. Furthermore, there are some evident misprints in *F,* which the text in *Q* helps to correct. Thus we have *Q 6* on the one hand, which is a well-printed book but printed from a decidedly poor manuscript, and *F 50* on the other, which is (for these two sermons) carelessly printed but has a text that is decidedly better than that of *Q.* No variants between *Q* and *F* for the two sermons appear to represent Donne's own revisions.

[47] The sermons on *Genesis* 2.18, *Proverbs* 8.17, *Amos* 5.18, *Mark* 16.16, *Luke* 23.34, and *I Corinthians* 15.26.

The general conclusions that have been reached concerning the relation of the extant seventeenth-century manuscripts to one another can probably be best summarized in the form of a genealogical table.


[Donne's original MS]*
[Common source for *M*, *Dob*, *P* (good)]
[Common source for *D*, *L*, *A* (not as good as that for *M*, *Dob*, *P*)]
[Common source for *Dob* and at least one of the sermons in *Q* 6† (rather poor copy)]
[Common source for *M*, *P* (good copy)]
[Common source for *D*, *L* (not very good copy)]
A (poor copy)
Dob (good copy)
P (poor copy)
M (good copy)
D (good copy)
L (moderately poor copy)

The printed text of *S* is derived from a (now nonexistent) manuscript which itself stemmed from the common source of *M* and *P*. William Milbourne, the editor of *S*, changed his manuscript source in some respects. No evidence is available to prove whether *S* is or is not closely related to *P* otherwise than through the common source of all three texts.

At least one sermon in *Q 6*, that on *Matthew* 21.44, was printed from a manuscript that served also as a source for *Dob*. Presumably other sermons in the volume came from this same source, but since only the one exists in both *Q 6* and *Dob* we cannot be certain. The text of at least four of the sermons in *Q 6* shows itself to be related to that in *M* and not to the text of the same sermons in *L*, *D*. It does not seem likely that all the sermons printed in *Q 6* came from the same manuscript, for one, the sermon on *Hosea* 2.19, contains author's revisions that are

* Manuscripts indicated within square brackets are theoretical and not known to exist at the present time.

† I.e., the sermon on *Matthew* 21.44, which is the only sermon appearing in both *Q 6* and *Dob*.

found also in *F*, while at least two of the others (those on *Matthew* 21.44 and *John* 5.22) contain the earlier wording of passages revised in *F*. Whatever the precise genealogy of the different sermons in *Q 6* may be, it is abundantly clear that it is on the whole a poor and untrustworthy text.

The text of the sermons in *F 80* and *F 50* comes from a fairly uniform manuscript source, different from and later than the primary source manuscripts from which *M, Dob, D, L, P,* and *A* were copied. Some of the sermons in *F 80* and *F 50* were considerably revised by Donne, others not changed from the earlier forms in which they appear in the manuscripts; and concerning the extent of author's revisions in the great majority in the two volumes one of course cannot judge, since only a single text exists of that majority. Presumably, as has been pointed out at the beginning of the present Introduction, all the sermons in *F 80* and *F 50* were gone over by Donne late in life, some perhaps written out in full for the first time then, some revised extensively, some slightly, and some left unchanged.

The text of the sermons in *F 26* is not uniform, and no general statement can be made concerning its relation to the manuscripts. Each sermon which appears there and also in one or more variant texts has to be considered by itself, and the conclusions about one sermon in *F 26* are not necessarily true about another in the same volume.

As to the general value of the manuscripts to an editor of the sermons, several conclusions are clear. When the manuscript versions of a sermon agree together as against the wording in *F*, the manuscript reading may be an earlier wording of Donne's—hence well worth observing by a student of his methods—or may correct misprints in *F* or miscopyings in the direct manuscript source for *F*. Rarely, more complex relationships among variant versions, including *F*, indicate a mistake in *F* that can be corrected not from one manuscript alone or from a reading in which all the manuscripts agree, but from a comparison of variously mistaken readings in each different text concerned. The many hundreds of variant readings occurring in manuscripts such as *P, L,* or *A* alone, or in the printed versions of *Q 6* alone, can be disregarded in determining a final text for the sermons concerned. Even these innumerable blunders and slips of the pen have their significance to a student, however, because they give interesting

evidence of the ways of copyists and of the sorts of errors that are common and that can be expected to have occurred in, for example, the sermons in *F 26* that exist in only one none too reliable text.

Punctuation.—Seventeenth-century punctuation is based on somewhat different principles from those determining modern punctuation. The use of question marks, parentheses, and hyphens is, to be sure, much the same as that of the present day. The use of commas, semicolons, colons, and periods is, however, on a rhetorical rather than a grammatical basis, and does not follow the set rules that have now become accepted. (For example, we now use commas before and after grammatically nonrestrictive phrases, and not before or after restrictive ones; but seventeenth-century writers and printers made no such distinction unless by instinct or accident.) In seventeenth-century usage, those four punctuation marks were simply indications of four degrees of pause, and the distinctions among these four degrees were not fixed by any set rules—even the distinction between the colon and the period is not by any means rigid,—but were in large measure determined by the writer's, and often by the copyist's or printer's, sense of what was fitting. All the variant texts that we are considering agree with respect to the general principles that have just been indicated, but their differences from one another in punctuation are plentiful and without any clear consistency.

To be more specific: a comparison of the text of the sermons in *Q 6* with that of the same sermons as they appear in *F 50* shows a general tendency toward lighter stops in *F* (semicolons rather than colons, commas rather than semicolons, etc.), but at the same time a tendency in *F* toward the use of more commas than are in *Q*. Neither tendency is wholly consistent, for frequently a semicolon in *Q* will change to a colon in *F,* and also frequently *F* will omit a comma that is in *Q;* but there are in *F* more than three times as many changes from heavier to lighter pauses as there are changes in the opposite direction, and, on the other hand, twice as many commas added as there are commas omitted. The same two general tendencies in *F* are observable, but with no greater consistency, when it is compared with one of the manuscripts. Also, the punctuation of *F 50* is itself somewhat different from that of *F 80,* heavier especially with respect to commas.

A comparison of the first with the second edition of the sermon on

Acts 1.8 shows a tendency (in the proportion of about two to one) for changes from lighter to heavier pauses rather than from heavier to lighter—in other words, a tendency opposite to that from *Q 6* to *F 50*—and no distinct tendency with regard to commas, there being about the same number of commas added as are omitted.

The many other changes in punctuation among the different texts show no significant pattern at all, as far as we can determine.

Spelling.—The chief difference between the manuscripts and the sermons printed in Donne's lifetime on the one hand, and *Q 6, F 80, F 50,* and *F 26* on the other, is that in the first category we have the older use of "i" and "v" for initial "j" and "u" or "v," and of medial "i" and "u" for the modern "j" and "v," whereas in the second category the modern practice is observed. This spelling reform goes back on the Continent to Trissino in 1524, and to Pierre de la Ramée, or Ramus, "whose *Grammatica* of 1559 distinguishes i and j, u and v according to the modern system throughout, both in capitals and lower-case."[48] In England, however, the older system continued to be used for many years till "the present usage of restricting Ii to the vowel, Jj to the consonant appears to have been generally established soon after 1630" (*N.E.D.,* under "J" and "U"). Even in *Deaths Duell,* published in 1632, the old usage is retained, but in 1634 the *Six Sermons* initiates the modern system for Donne's work.

The manuscripts show a wide variety of spelling, but in the printed texts a certain uniformity is produced by the general rules observed in each printing house. Many alternative spellings were allowed and the compositor could choose which of these he preferred, according to the amount of space available to him at the end of the line. Thus for words which now end in -ness, the accepted spellings in *Q 6, F 80,* and *F 50* were -nesse, and, less frequently, -nes, but in *F 26,* printed in 1661, these forms have been superseded by the modern -ness. Again, in all the earlier texts we find that though he, we, be are the most common forms, there are many occurrences of hee, wee, bee.[49] In *F 26* these forms with -ee have practically disappeared. In the earlier texts such

[48] McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography,* p. 311.

[49] In *The First Sermon Preached before King Charles,* printed in 1625, see p. 1, wee (twice); p. 2, bee; p. 3, hee (twice); etc. In *F 80,* pp. 26–28, there are sixteen occurrences of these spellings; in *F 50,* p. 391, there are seven.

spellings as equall, naturall, civill and the like were ordinarily used, though the second terminal letter could sometimes be omitted. In *F 26,* on the other hand, we find on page 134, "Gods natural way . . . his spiritual graces . . . they are equal . . . are equal," and on page 106, "Funeral . . . Civil . . . mutual . . . chearful . . . personal . . . occasional," though there are also some examples of the spellings with the doubled final letter. Often in *F 26* the spelling throughout is entirely modern, though the punctuation and use of capitals do not conform to modern standards.[50]

Capitalization.—There is great variety in the use of capital letters. Of the two editions of the sermon on *Acts* 1.8, the second contains far more capitalized words than the first, which is nearer to Donne's original text. *F 50* contains far more capital letters than the manuscripts, *Q 6,* or *F 80.* On the other hand, some of the manuscripts use too few capitals, especially *L* and *Dob,* which often begin sentences with a small letter and spell "God" as "god." The few autograph letters of Donne's which are still extant show that he employed capitals more freely than in the modern practice, but not excessively.

Use of italics.—Italics were generally employed to mark out proper names, Latin words, and quotations.[51] *F 80* is consistent in this, and *F 26* fairly consistent, but *F 50* uses italics with tiresome frequency in some sermons, apparently to distinguish ordinary words which it wishes to emphasize, though in this it is extremely inconsistent. Generally it employs them for proper names and Scriptural quotations, but in the two sermons on *Genesis* 1.26 it has nearly sixty quotations in roman instead of italic, whereas *Q 6* in printing the same sermons is scrupulously careful to use italic for these quotations. The sermons printed in Donne's lifetime also make large use of italics to mark out single words for emphasis, and at the same time use them for proper names and quotations.

In the manuscripts several devices were used to mark out words which were to be printed in italics. Underlining might be used as at present, but in manuscripts written in the English hand it was a com-

[50] See p. 8, where the passage on the penitent thief beginning "This thief . . ." continues for fourteen lines in entirely modern spelling. On p. 9 there is a passage of ten lines of modern spelling.

[51] McKerrow, *op. cit.,* p. 298.

mon practice to insert proper names and foreign quotations in an Italian hand, this practice of course corresponding to that of printing such things in italic type in a roman text.[52] Thus in *Dob* Latin quotations are written in an Italian hand, while in *P,* which is written throughout in the Italian hand, quotations are written in larger letters to distinguish them. *L* sometimes, but not consistently, uses this device of larger letters. *D* sometimes, but not consistently, underlines Latin quotations.[53]

The main conclusion to be drawn from this discussion is that there was somewhat more variety in punctuation, and much more in such matters as spelling and the use of italics and capitals, than there is in modern practice. Copyists and printers introduced their own changes in these matters far more freely than changes in wording. One can never be entirely certain how, in any particular passage, Donne himself would have punctuated a sentence or spelled a word. To a printer the text itself was sacrosanct, but he did not feel bound to follow copy in punctuation, spelling, or the use of capitals.[54]

Bases and principles for editing.—For the sermons that were printed within Donne's lifetime in more than one issue, the best basis for a text is the earliest printing. Since, however, these early editions were by no means always carefully printed or proofread, later issues need to be consulted, and followed where they clearly correct errors in the earlier text. It is necessary also to scrutinize the basic text carefully for blunders of the sort that are frankly recognized by the printer of the 1622 edition of the sermon on *Acts* 1.8, and described in the list of errata for that edition, as follows: "Other errors there are, in mis-

[52] McKerrow, *op. cit.,* p. 251.

[53] In the sermon on *Psalms* 38.9 *D* does not differentiate Latin quotations in pp. 151 to 163, but from p. 164 to p. 177 they are, for the most part, underlined.

[54] That printers, however, were influenced by their copy to some degree, even in these minor matters, is shown in *F 26* by the differences between the two printings, taken from different manuscript copies, of the sermons on *Matthew* 6.21 and *James* 2.12. The second printing of these sermons has some unusual spellings such as "tru" (twice on p. 226), "foragin" (p. 228), "knowledg" (p. 229), "Judg" (three times on p. 249), evidently derived from the manuscript, while the earlier printing, taken from a better manuscript, has the normal forms "true," "forreign," "knowledge," and "Judge." For a fuller discussion see McKerrow, *op. cit.,* pp. 246–249.

printing, or in transposing letters, or in misplacing Citations in the Margin, which will not (I thinke) hinder any willing Reader." Readers of the present edition may be as "willing" as those of 1622, but it would be folly for editors three hundred years later to go on leaving such errors for the reader to forgive.

For the sermons printed in *F 80* or *F 50* and also included in one or more of the earlier manuscripts and printed texts the best basic text is that of the Folio concerned. Since the two volumes were almost certainly printed from manuscript texts revised by Donne himself in his later years, they are more authoritative *on the whole* than any earlier version. Nevertheless, because they were made years after Donne's death and no author's supervision was possible, because printer's errors are by no means absent even in carefully edited seventeenth-century publications, and because the manuscript used as copy for the Folios was probably not in Donne's own hand,[55] it would clearly not be reasonable to assume that they are always right and the variant readings of earlier versions always wrong. The text of *F 80* and *F 50* can be—and in the present edition will be—corrected in many places by adopting a reading common to several earlier versions, and in a few by following a reading that occurs in one of the most reliable of them, such as *M*. Variants occurring only in one of the less reliable, such as *L, P, A,* or the printed text of *Q 6,* must be ignored except as curious vagaries of a copyist. Manuscript readings that appear to be an earlier wording of the author himself, revised and changed by him in the version of *F,* will be noted in the critical apparatus; but for the text it is obviously necessary to follow the author's own revised wording.

The best basic text for sermons occurring both in *F 26* and in some other printed or manuscript version cannot be *assumed* to be that of the Folio, since the sermons in that volume come from different manuscript sources that are not necessarily more authoritative than earlier printings or manuscripts that exist. Nevertheless, for at least two sermons (the Sermon of Valediction on *Ecclesiastes* 12.1, and the sermon on *II Corinthians* 4.6) the text of *F 26* contains author's revisions and should therefore be considered basic. Also, since most of the sermons in this Folio exist in only the one text, it is in the interest of

[55] See the previous discussion of variant readings, esp. p. 66 n.

uniformity to use this text for all sermons in the volume unless another existing text is *clearly* better to use. For the two sermons—on *Matthew* 6.21 and *James* 2.12—that appear twice in *F 26,* and appear nowhere else, we are adopting the A rather than the B text as basic.[56] For the sermon on *Psalms* 68.20 (*Deaths Duell*) there exists, besides the text in *F 26,* the quarto edition of 1632, which was reissued in 1633 with a cancel title page and of which a second edition appeared in 1633. We have decided to base our text on the Quarto, which appeared only a year after the preaching of the sermon, and which is certainly much nearer in spelling, punctuation, and the use of capitals and italics to Donne's usual practice than is the Folio text of 1661. The main differences between the two texts, and our reasons for preferring the Quarto, will be fully explained in our Introduction to Volume X.

One sermon only—that on *Psalms* 38.9—exists in no seventeenth-century printed version whatever. The choice of a basic text for this sermon is, then, more or less arbitrary. For the present edition *Dob* is adopted as a base, but is corrected by reference to the other manuscripts, especially *M. Dob* is chosen rather than *M* because *Dob* can be more easily checked by students, being deposited in the library of a public institution (Harvard University), whereas *M* is privately owned.

For sermons extant in only one seventeenth-century printed text, an editor has no choice but to use that text as a basis. The attitude of the present editors toward such single texts varies, however, according to the relative reliability of each text.

If the sole text is an edition printed in Donne's lifetime, the likelihood of serious blunders or rationalizations by copyists is slight, though there may, of course, be plenty of small printer's errors.

If the sole text is from *F 80,* the best procedure is to follow that text faithfully except where errors are *very* apparent, that is, where *F* makes nonsense, and where to assume a printer's or copyist's error of a kind easily made would change the nonsense into clear sense. *F 80,* as has already been shown, is an admirably careful printing of excellent manuscript copy.

If the sole text is from *F 50,* an editor must proceed on the probability that the sermons in that volume came from manuscript copy of

[56] See *ante,* pp. 53–55.

the same excellence as that from which *F 80* was printed, but also on the certainty that the editing, typesetting, and proofreading of *F 50* were considerably less careful than in the preparation of *F 80*. Copyist's changes and attempted rationalizations are, then, no more likely in the one Folio than in the other, but the possibility of printer's blunders is decidedly greater.

If the sole text is from *F 26*, the editor's problem is most difficult. A few sermons, such as No. 19, the "Sermon of Valediction," have an excellent text, which can be reproduced verbatim, except for the correction of nine or ten misprints, while others are evidently derived from a manuscript or manuscripts containing a great many errors and omissions. All that it is possible for an editor to do, then, is to consider the text of each sermon by itself, but in the light of the conclusions drawn from a study of manuscript variants in those sermons which exist in more than one text. The present editors have altered the text of these sermons in *F 26* after careful consideration, and only when a correction seems essential. We have, however, felt forced to make many more alterations than we have made in sermons the sole text of which comes from *F 80* or *F 50;* and sometimes we have had to mark passages as corrupt and beyond the likelihood of restoration to their original form with any high degree of probability. Each change in these texts is listed in the textual apparatus; and the reader can thus judge whether our decisions are sound or not.

Since the spelling, the use of capitals and italics, and even the punctuation, vary so considerably among different printings or copyings of the same sermon, an editor can feel little confidence that any copyist or printer has followed Donne's own practice faithfully or meticulously in such matters. Presumably the closest one can get to Donne's own usage is in the earliest issues of the sermons printed in his lifetime. It is, however, not impossible that the Folios contain revisions that Donne himself made, even in these respects. It would, therefore, certainly be unsound to change the spelling, punctuation, etc., of a hundred and thirty or more sermons to conform to the practice in a half-dozen, especially since that practice is not by any means consistent in either the earlier or the later texts. On the other hand, it would be equally unsound to change in any radical fashion earlier texts that may possibly be closer than those in the Folios to Donne's own habits.

The present editors will, then, follow the Folio text where such a text exists, and otherwise follow whatever version is chosen as a basic text for the present edition. We shall, however, occasionally correct particular passages where the basic text is obviously wrong *on its own principles* and therefore embodies a printer's or copyist's blunder; and such changes will be listed in the critical apparatus.[57]

Printing a photographic facsimile or a literal reproduction of whatever edition or manuscript is chosen as basic would, we believe, be entirely unsound as a means of establishing a definitive text for Donne's sermons. Only a very few of the sermons were published under conditions which would permit the author's personal supervision; and, considering the large number of obvious printer's errors, it is at best doubtful that Donne himself read proof or otherwise checked at all closely the printing of those few. We do not believe that we should consider as sacred the blunders of copyists and typesetters; rather, we consider it our duty to try as best we can, in the light of all the information that is available to us, to approach Donne's own wording and intention.

[57] One printer's error in punctuation, especially common in *F 26,* is the accidental transposition of commas and semicolons, or of semicolons and colons, etc. In concluding that such transpositions are frequent, and in correcting them where the sense of the passage demands a correction, we agree with the conclusion of R. B. McKerrow (*Prolegomena to the Oxford Shakespeare,* p. 42), who said that in editing he felt bound to alter punctuation where "a clause is separated by a major stop, such as a semi-colon, colon, or full point, from another to which it logically belongs, while at the same time it is only separated by a comma from one with which it has much less close logical connection."

IV. *The Literary Value of Donne's Sermons*

John Donne was essentially a poet. It is as a poet, primarily, that he holds and will continue to hold his place in English literature. But in the later years of his life his creative power had to express itself for the most part in "that other harmony of prose." To his contemporaries it would have seemed hardly fitting that a Dean of St. Paul's should spend his time in idle versemaking. Occasionally the poetic impulse was too strong for him, and he composed one of his great sonnets or hymns, but for most of his time he labored in his vocation of preaching, and in this way he produced his finest prose.

Prose was a medium of literary expression which he had already used in the *Paradoxes and Problems, Biathanatos, Ignatius his Conclave,* and *Essays in Divinity*. He became an artist in prose as well as in verse.[1] He had the poet's feeling for the color and sound of words, and the instinct for the right word in the right place. He was able to please, or surprise, or shock, in prose as he had done in verse. His prose lacks something of the concentrated intensity of his verse, it is true. Prose by its very nature tends to be more diffuse than poetry, and less individual. Yet Donne's prose conveys to us the unmistakable flavor of the man's personality, and the study of it is an exciting experience.

In prose Donne belongs to the school of Hooker and Jeremy Taylor, of Milton and Sir Thomas Browne. Like them he had been trained to write Latin prose, and he carried into his writing of his native language that mastery of the long period, that control of subordinate clauses, which is one of the marks of a Latin stylist. His greatest effects, such as that at the close of the terrible and majestic passage on damnation, are obtained by the marshaling of clause on clause, till the climax comes like a peal of thunder.

Donne did not attain at once to this mastery of the long period. One of his early attempts in prose, the "Character of a Dunce," consists of one enormous sentence which in a modern edition occupies three

[1] This essay is a study of the artistic characteristics of the sermons viewed as a whole. Donne's style, however, changed and developed during the sixteen years of his ministry, and some attempt will be made, in the Introductions to the several volumes of the present edition, to indicate this development of his technique.

pages of print. This sentence has, however, no organic unity; it is really a string of sentences separated from one another at intervals by commas and colons, and its structure would be much improved if all the colons and some of the commas were replaced by full stops. But in the interval between the writing of the "Character of a Dunce" and the sermons, Donne gave himself the severe intellectual exercise of composing a whole book, *Conclave Ignati,* in Latin. Also he trained himself in the writing of English in *Biathanatos, Pseudo-Martyr,* and *Essays in Divinity*. None of these works can approach the great sermons in style, but in all of them are passages in which Donne begins to try his powers and to give hints of greatness.

One of the secrets of effective rhetoric, says Cicero, is the juxtaposition of short and long sentences. After a passage of sustained argument or lofty declamation, a short pithy sentence is doubly powerful. Donne had learned this secret, and the mingling of short and long sentences is frequent in his sermons. Side by side with his long and cunningly built-up periods we have such short pregnant sentences as these: *"Militia, vita;* our whole life is a warfare; God would not choose *Cowards."*

Another salient feature of Donne's style is his skillful use of alliteration. That he should have used alliteration freely in prose as well as in verse is not of itself at all a remarkable thing. Alliteration is so much a part and parcel of English literary form, and it had been used so freely in prose by Sir Thomas More—Donne's famous great-uncle—and by North, Lyly, Nash, and other sixteenth-century writers, that we expect, as a matter of course, to find it employed by Donne. But Donne uses it less obviously and with greater skill than his predecessors. What could be more tiresome than such determined hunting of the letter as we find in More, "walk pit pat upon a paire of patens," "Prince, page, pope, and pore soul priest"[2]—unless it be Lyly's yet more exasperating union of alliteration and antithesis, the endless see-saw of phrases balanced one against another, each one pointed with its appropriate letter? "I haue learned this by experience, though I be young, that Bauins are knowen by their bands, Lyons by their clawes, Cockes by their combes, envious mindes by their manners."[3] From the

[2] Sir Thomas More, *Four Last Things.*

[3] Lyly, *Euphues and His England* (*Works,* ed. Warwick Bond, II.103).

first, Donne was incapable of such clumsy devices. Alliteration, as the Old English poets knew, must not be overemphasized if it is to be effective. It must recur at intervals, marking the significant words, and the Englishman instinctively expects the pleasure of such recurring sounds. Shakespeare and Milton, Tennyson and A. E. Housman, all knew how to satisfy this instinctive desire without cloying it by long strings of alliterative phrases.

The most famous single line of Donne's poetry owes something of its magic to alliteration—"A bracelet of bright hair about the bone." And there is a more subtle variation in those other famous lines: "O more then Moone, Draw not up seas to drowne me in thy sphere."

Donne, as we should expect, avoids alliterative phrases which had been cheapened by constant use, but he coins fresh ones with unerring skill. Notice the skillful play on initial *d, r,* and *f* in the following passage: "From that inglorious *d*rop of *r*aine, that *f*alls into the *d*ust, and *r*ises no more, to those glorious Saints who shall *r*ise from the *d*ust, and *f*all no more, but, as they arise at once to the *f*ulnesse of *Essentiall* joy, so arise *d*aily in *accidentiall* joyes, all are the children of God, and all alike of kin to us."[4]

Less elaborate but equally effective is Donne's use of alliteration in shorter sentences: "Death is the Divorce of body and soul; Resurrection is the Re-union of body and soule";[5] "Who can feare the darknesse of death, that hath had the light of this world, and of the next too? Who can feare death this night, that hath had the Lord of life in his hand to day?"[6]

Another feature of Donne's style is his love of antithesis. From the publication of *The Diall of Princes* and Lyly's *Euphues* the Elizabethans had an inordinate affection for antithetical clauses, in which the antithesis was often emphasized by alliteration. "Ah well I perceive that love is not unlyke the Figge tree, whose fruite is sweete, whose roote is more bitter then the claw of a Bitter, or lyke the Apple in Persia, whose blossome savoreth lyke honny, whose budde is more sower then gall."[7]

[4] *Fifty Sermons,* No. 41, p. 376.
[5] *LXXX Sermons,* No. 19, p. 188.
[6] *Ibid.,* No. 4, p. 38.
[7] Lyle, *Euphues* (*Works,* ed. Warwick Bond, I.208).

Donne's style is far enough removed from the affectations and absurdities of Euphuism, even though he, like all other prose writers of the earlier seventeenth century, owes something to Lyly's pioneer experiments in English style. In *Euphues* the elaboration of the language is sometimes a cloak for the poverty of the thought. Donne needed no such disguise.

Less pleasing than alliteration or antithesis to the ear of modern readers are the jingles for which Donne, like other Elizabethans, had a curious fondness. "I shall rise from the dead, from the darke station, from the prostration, from the prosternation of death, and never misse the sunne, which shall then be put out, for I shall see the Sonne of God, the Sunne of glory, and shine myself, as that sunne shines."[8] Here are jingles in plenty, and also that pun on *Son* and *Sun* which is frequent in the sermons, and which Donne introduced also into his *Hymn to God the Father:* "But sweare by thyselfe, that at my death thy sonne / Shall shine as he shines now, and heretofore."

Elsewhere Donne puns on the double meaning of *ordinance* and *ordnance*. "His Ordinance of preaching batters the soule, and by that breach the Spirit enters."[9] Donne quotes with high approval the word play of the Fathers of the Church in Latin: "Christ came *per mundam in mundum,* by a clean woman into an unclean world";[10] *"Saint Bernards* harmonious charme will strike upon us, *Rara hora, brevis mora* . . .";[11] "No eloquence enclined them, no terrors declined them: No dangers withdrew them, no preferment drew them."[12]

Donne produces many of his finest effects by the repetition of a word from clause to clause, from sentence to sentence, placing it each time in a slightly different position or using it with a slightly different connotation. Here is a characteristic passage from one of Donne's most elaborately planned sermons, that preached before Charles the First at Whitehall in April, 1629. Its theme is creation and dissolution.

Now, if all this earth were made in that minute, may not all come to the general dissolution in this minute? Or may not thy acres, thy miles, thy Shires shrinke into feet, and so few feet, as shall but make up thy grave?

[8] *Fifty Sermons,* No. 37, p. 343.
[9] See also *Sermon on Judges 5.20* (1622), p. 30.
[10] *XXVI Sermons,* No. 14, p. 195.
[11] *Fifty Sermons,* No. 50, p. 472.
[12] *LXXX Sermons,* No. 71, p. 724.

When he who was a great Lord, must be but a Cottager; and not so well; for a Cottager must have so many acres to his Cottage; but in this case, a little peece of an acre, five foot, is become the house it selfe; the house, and the land; the grave is all: lower then that; the grave is the Land, and the Tenement, and the Tenant too: He that lies in it, becomes the same earth, that he lies in. They all make but one earth, and but a little of it. But then raise thy selfe to a higher hope againe. God hath made better land, the land of promise; a stronger city, the new *Jerusalem;* and, inhabitants for that everlasting city, *Vs;* whom he made, not by saying, let there be men, but by consultation, by deliberation, God said, *Let us make man in our Image, after our likenesse.*[13]

If the reader is to appreciate the full artistry of this passage, he should read it in its setting, in the sermon from which it is taken, for it closes with the words of the text which had headed the sermon, so that Donne once more makes his circle just, and ends where he began. And in the earlier part of this paragraph, too long to be quoted in full, the key words of the passage, "earth," "grave," "peece of an acre," had already reverberated in the ears of Donne's hearers. But even as it stands here, the pattern is evident. Take the words on which the stress naturally falls: "earth . . . minute, dissolution . . . minute"; "acres . . . miles . . . Shires . . . feet . . . feet . . . grave"; "Lord . . . Cottager . . . Cottage"; "peece of an acre . . . five foot . . . house . . . house . . . land . . . grave . . . grave . . . Land . . . Tenement . . . Tenant . . . lies . . . earth . . . earth . . . little . . . land . . . land of promise . . . new Jerusalem . . . everlasting City . . . *Vs.*" There is repetition, but there is also variety, for the pattern is intricate, in such a way that "earth," "grave," "land" bear sometimes the main weight of the clause, and sometimes have only the secondary accent. In one clause "a great Lord" and "a Cottager" are contrasted, while in the next "cottager" finds not its opposite but its complement in "Cottage." In the clause which marks the climax of the lengthy middle sentence the key word "earth" is emphasized by being placed between the twofold use of the verb "lies in": "He that lies in it, becomes the same earth, that he lies in." Donne's emphatic rhetorical punctuation places a comma after "earth" to make us pause on the word. The next sentence carries on the pattern, "They all make but one earth, and but a little of it." And then in the final sentence "land," which has hitherto been almost synonymous with "earth"

[13] *Fifty Sermons,* No. 28, p. 240.

("the grave is the Land"), derives a new significance from its other meaning of "country": "better land, the land of promise; a stronger city, the new *Jerusalem.*"

The intricacy of such a passage reminds us of the difficult stanzas which Donne handled with such skill in the *Songs and Sonets. The Triple Fool* and *Aire and Angels* have stanzas of eleven lines in the one and fourteen in the other poem. Some of the lines have three feet, some four, some five, and all are bound together by a rhyming scheme of considerable difficulty. Donne shows himself a consummate craftsman both in prose and in verse, and he accomplishes these feats without obscuring his meaning.

Here is another passage which will repay study.

> He brought light out of darknesse, not out of a lesser light; he can bring thy Summer out of Winter, though thou have no Spring; though in the wayes of fortune, or understanding, or conscience, thou have been benighted till now, wintred and frozen, clouded and eclypsed, damped and benummed, smothered and stupified till now, now God comes to thee, not as in the dawning of the day, not as in the bud of the spring, but as the Sun at noon to illustrate all shadowes, as the sheaves in harvest, to fill all penuries, all occasions invite his mercies, and all times are his seasons.[14]

As we reread this passage, so exquisite in its cadences that the attempt to analyze its technique seems almost profane, we become conscious not only of Donne's subtle use of alliteration and antithesis, but also of music deriving from a kind of parallelism characteristic of another form of poetry, the Hebrew poetry of the Psalms and Prophets. This form of poetry has been at home in English ever since Tindale's great translation of 1534, though indeed we may trace its influence right back to the Old English period and the days of Caedmon and Cynewulf. Donne was a Hebrew scholar, and he studied the Old Testament in three different languages—in the original Hebrew, which he quotes at times to show the force of some particular word; in the Latin of the Vulgate, with which he had been familiar from childhood; and finally, in the English of the Geneva Bible and the Authorized Version. His sermons are saturated with the language of Hebrew poetry, and also with its parallelism and antithesis.

[14] *LXXX Sermons,* No. 2, p. 13.

Two or three examples must suffice to show the skill with which Donne chooses passages from the English Bible, dwells on them, and incorporates them into his own prose. Here is one from a Whitsunday sermon in which Donne had taken as his text, "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." He has, in mystical fashion, interpreted the waters in divers ways. Finally he remembers a verse in one of the great stories of the Old Testament, the tragedy of David and Absalom. He turns from the waters of baptism, and the waters of affliction, to the last and deepest waters of all, the waters of death:

> To end all with the end of all, Death comes to us in the name, and notion of waters too, in the Scriptures. The Widow of Tekoah said to *David* in the behalfe of *Absalon,* by the Counsaile of *Ioab,* The water of death overflowes all; *We must needs dye,* saies she, *and are as water spilt upon the ground, which cannot be gathered up againe: yet God devises meanes, that his banished, be not expelled from him.* So the Spirit of God moves upon the face of these waters, the Spirit of life upon the danger of death.[15]

The incorporation of these words into Donne's own prose is carried a stage further in one of his meditations upon death. "Looke upon the *water,* and we are as that, and as that spilt upon the ground."[16]

An Easter sermon contains a passage leading up, with fine effect, to two verses of Scripture which might seem to contradict each other. Donne does not quote the second verse from the Authorized Version; he paraphrases the last few words in order to emphasize the contrast at which he is aiming.

> Little know we, how little a way a soule hath to goe to heaven, when it departs from the body; Whether it must passe locally, through Moone, and Sun, and Firmament, (and if all that must be done, all that may be done, in lesse time then I have proposed the doubt in) or whether that soule finde new light in the same roome, and be not carried into any other, but that the glory of heaven be diffused over all, I know not, I dispute not, I inquire not. Without disputing, or inquiring, I know, that when Christ sayes, *That God is not the God of the dead,* he saies that to assure me, that those whom I call dead, are alive. And when the Apostle tels me, *That God is not ashamed to be called the God of the dead,* he tels me that to assure me, That Gods servants lose nothing by dying.[17]

[15] *LXXX Sermons,* No. 31, p. 311.
[16] *Fifty Sermons,* No. 30, p. 270.
[17] *LXXX Sermons,* No. 22, pp. 219–220.

Elsewhere Donne brings together two familiar verses from the Epistle to the Hebrews and a much less familiar one from the Prophet Jeremiah, and weaves them into the structure of his own prose:

> *Here we have no continuing City;* first, no City, no such large being, and then no continuing at all, it is but a sojourning.... Here we are but *Viatores,* Passengers, way-faring men; This life is but the high-way, and thou canst not build thy hopes here.... What the Prophet sayes to thy Saviour *(O the hope of Israel, the Saviour thereof in time of trouble, why shouldest thou be a stranger in the land, and as a wayfaring man, that turnes aside to tarry for a night?)* say thou to thy soule, Since thou art a stranger in the land, a wayfaring man, turned aside to tarry for a night, since the night is past, *Arise and depart, for here is not thy rest....*[18]

These are not purple passages, but paragraphs which occur in the ordinary course of Donne's argument. The poetry of the Hebrew prophets mingles naturally with his own stately English prose. We are accustomed to think of the Authorized Version as a monument of the English language, using chiefly words of native origin, plain, direct, and vigorous. Donne's vocabulary, which incorporates so much of the phraseology of the Bible, is distinguished by the same qualities. At times Donne uses Latinisms and turns of phrase derived from Latin syntax, but in the sermons the English Bible is the most potent of all the influences which have helped to mold his style.

The vocabulary used by Donne in the sermons is much larger than that employed in his poems. It includes such words as *agnomination, binominous, colluctation, commonefaction, conculcation, consubstantiality, inchoation, inintelligibleness, innotescence, longanimity, lycanthropy, macilency, significative, supergression, superplusage,* and the like, as well as theological terms like the *hypostatical union of two natures* in Christ, the *impassibility* of the Divine Nature, or the *impenitablenesse* of those who sin against the Holy Ghost. However useful such words may be in theological controversy, they do little to increase the effectiveness of Donne's style. As soon as he is moved by a strong emotion, they drop out of his speech, which returns to the native idiom that he could use so well. On death, a subject which always moved him deeply, he says:

> It comes equally to us all, and makes us all equall when it comes. The ashes of an Oak in the Chimney, are no Epitaph of that Oak, to tell me

[18] *LXXX Sermons,* No. 39, pp. 390–391.

how high or how large that was; It tels me not what flocks it sheltered while it stood, nor what men it hurt when it fell. The dust of great persons graves is speechlesse too, it sayes nothing, it distinguishes nothing: As soon the dust of a wretch whom thou wouldest not, as of a Prince whom thou couldest not look upon, will trouble thine eyes, if the winde blow it thither; and when a whirle-wind hath blowne the dust of the Church-yard into the Church, and the man sweeps out the dust of the Church into the Church-yard, who will undertake to sift those dusts again, and to pronounce, This is the Patrician, this is the noble flowre, and this the yeomanly, this the Plebeian bran?[19]

Death is not a banishing of you out of this world; but it is a visitation of your kindred that lie in the earth; neither are any nearer of kin to you, then the earth it selfe, and the wormes of the earth. You heap earth upon your soules, and encumber them with more and more flesh, by a superfluous and luxuriant diet; You adde earth to earth in new purchases, and measure not by Acres, but by Manors, nor by Manors, but by Shires; And there is a little Quillet, a little Close, worth all these, A quiet Grave.[20]

Donne's sentences, when he chooses, can be as terse, pithy, and colloquial as Bunyan's, or as eloquent and rhetorical as Milton's. To illustrate this, we may set side by side two passages in which his theme is the same—his consciousness that his repentance for his early sins has been accepted by God.

I doubt not of mine own salvation, and in whom can I have so much occasion of doubt, as in myself? When I come to heaven, shall I be able to say to any there, Lord, how got you hither? Was any man less likely to come thither then I?[21]

The colloquial vigor of these sentences is in strong contrast with the sustained eloquence of the second passage, taken from a Lenten sermon on Job's cry, "O earth, cover not thou my blood."

And truly, so may I, so may every soule say, that is rectified, refreshed, restored, re-established by the seales of Gods pardon, and his mercy, so the world would take knowledge of the consequences of my sins, as well as of the sins themselves, and read my leafes on both sides, and heare the second part of my story, as well as the first; so the world would look upon my temporall calamities, the bodily sicknesses, and the penuriousnesse of my fortune contracted by my sins, and upon my spirituall calamities, dejections of spirit, sadnesse of heart, declinations towards a diffidence and distrust

[19] *LXXX Sermons,* No. 15, p. 148.
[20] *LXXX Sermons,* No. 46, p. 463.
[21] *Ibid.,* No. 24, p. 241.

in the mercy of God, and then, when the world sees me in this agony and bloody sweat would also see the Angels of heaven ministring comforts unto me; so they would consider me in my *Peccavi,* and God in his *Transtulit,* Me in my earnest Confessions, God in his powerfull Absolutions, Me drawne out of one Sea of blood, the blood of mine owne soule, and cast into another Sea, the bottomlesse Sea of the blood of Christ Jesus; so they would know as well what God hath done for my soule, as what my soule and body have done against my God; so they would reade me throughout, and look upon me altogether, I would joyne with *Iob,* in his confident adjuration, *O Earth cover not thou my blood;* Let all the world know all the sins of my youth, and of mine age too, and I would not doubt, but God should receive more glory, and the world more benefit, then if I had never sinned.[22]

Though the theme is essentially the same, the difference in treatment corresponds to a significant change in the thought. In the first passage Donne is thinking primarily of his hearers. He wishes to console some dejected soul by the mention of his own assurance that God has shown mercy to himself a sinner. He is using prose of the plainest and most direct kind for its ordinary purpose, the communication of a fact by the speaker to his hearers. But in the second passage his imagination is fired by a metaphysical idea—the possibility that evil may be transmuted into good. From the thought of his own repentance accepted by God's mercy, he rises to the contemplation of an active divine energy which can make evil itself an instrument of a greater good. This was an idea peculiarly dear to Donne. He had given crude expression to it in his early *Paradoxes,* and he elaborated it in several of his sermons. Here he almost forgets his hearers in order on the one hand to meditate aloud on his own agonies and calamities, and on the other to consider that "bottomlesse Sea of the blood of Christ Jesus" in which his sins have been drowned. The words kindle and glow, "the wheels take fire from the mere rapidity of their motion," as Coleridge finely said of Donne's poetry,[23] and so the sentences take to themselves something of the music and rhythm of poetry.

This paradoxical idea, that evil may be transformed into an instrument for good, leads us to a consideration of Donne's use of paradox in

[22] *LXXX Sermons,* No. 13, p. 132.

[23] *Biographia Literaria* (ed. Shawcross), II.56.

general. In the poems, both secular and divine, he had constantly employed paradox, and it is characteristic of him that his earliest attempts at literary prose were short pieces modeled on the Italian *paradossi*. In the sermons he delights to expound the great paradoxes of the Christian religion—God made man in order that man may be made one with God; Christ who is Very God of Very God bearing every humiliation even to the death of the cross; or the believer who dies to live contrasted with the natural man who lives to die. Of the Crucifixion, Donne writes:

> ... I see those hands stretched out, that stretched out the heavens, and those feet racked, to which they that racked them are foot-stooles; I heare him, from whom his nearest friends fled, pray for his enemies, and him, whom his Father forsooke, not forsake his brethren; I see him that cloathes this body with his creatures, or else it would wither, and cloathes this soule with his Righteousnesse, or else it would perish, hang naked upon the Crosse; And him that hath, him that is, *the Fountain of the Water of Life,* cry out, *He thirsts....*[24]

Of the faithful who died in the great plague epidemic of 1625 he says to their friends and relatives:

> But are all these dead? *They were,* says the Text; they were in your eyes, and therefore we forbid not that office of the eye, that holy tenderness, to weep for them that are so dead. But there was a part in every one of them, that could not die; which the God of life, who breathed it into them, from his own mouth, hath suck'd into his own bosome.... When time shall be no more, when death shall be no more, they shall renew, or rather continue their being.[25]

Paradox can be used in a very different fashion for the purpose of

[24] *LXXX Sermons,* No. 40, p. 401. The whole of this passage should be compared with Donne's poem *Goodfriday,* lines 21–27 (ed. Grierson, I.336–337):

> Could I behold those hands which span the Poles,
> And turn all spheares at once, peirc'd with those holes?
> Could I behold that endlesse height which is
> Zenith to us, and our Antipodes,
> Humbled below us? or that blood which is
> The seat of all our Soules, if not of his,
> Made durt of dust, or that fleshe which was worne
> By God, for his apparell, rag'd, and torne?

[25] *XXVI Sermons,* No. 21, pp. 296–297.

sarcastic rebuke. Donne has sharp words for the insincerity and irreverence of some of his hearers:

God's House is the house of Prayer; It is his Court of Requests; There he receives petitions, there he gives Order upon them. And you come to God in his House, as though you came to keepe him company, to sit downe, and talke with him halfe an houre; or you come as Ambassadors, covered in his presence, as though ye came from as great a Prince as he. You meet below, and there make your bargaines, for biting, for devouring Usury, and then you come up hither to prayers, and so make God your Broker. You rob, and spoile, and eat his people as bread, by Extortion, and bribery, and deceitfull waights and measures, and deluding oathes in buying and selling, and then come hither, and so make God your Receiver, and his house a den of Thieves. His house is *Sanctum Sanctorum,* The holiest of holies, and you make it onely *Sanctuarium;* It should be a place sanctified by your devotions, and you make it onely a Sanctuary to privilege Malefactors, A place that may redeeme you from the ill opinion of men, who must in charity be bound to thinke well of you, because they see you here.[26]

Paradox and irony are closely linked, for there is often an ironical intention behind the paradox. Donne has a keen eye for life's little ironies, while at the same time he never forgets the final and tremendous irony of death. Thus to the heavy paterfamilias, inclined to become a domestic tyrant, he gives a word of advice.

Call not light faults by heavie Names; Call not all sociablenesse, and Conversation, Disloyaltie in thy Wife; Nor all levitie, or pleasurablenesse, Incorrigiblenesse in thy Sonne; nor all negligence or forgetfulnesse, Perfidiousnesse in thy Servant; Nor let every light disorder within doores, shut thee out of doores, or make thee a stranger in thine owne House. In a smoakie roome, it may bee enough to open a Windowe without leaving the place; . . .[27]

This irony, sometimes humorous, sometimes bitter, pervades the sermons, giving them a characteristic flavor. Donne applies it even to himself in a remorseless analysis of his own failures in prayer:

I throw my selfe down in my Chamber, and I call in, and invite God, and his Angels thither, and when they are there, I neglect God and his Angels, for the noise of a Flie, for the ratling of a Coach, for the whining of a doore; I talke on, in the same posture of praying; Eyes lifted up; knees bowed downe; as though I prayed to God; and, if God, or his Angels should aske me, when I thought last of God in that prayer, I cannot tell: Sometimes I finde that I had forgot what I was about, but when I began to forget it, I cannot tell. A memory of yesterdays pleasures, a feare of to morrows

[26] *LXXX Sermons,* No. 68, p. 692.

[27] *The First Sermon Preached to King Charles,* 1625, p. 53.

dangers, a straw under my knee, a noise in mine eare, a light in mine eye, an anything, a nothing, a fancy, a Chimera in my braine, troubles me in my prayer. So certainely is there nothing, nothing in spirituall things, perfect in this world.[28]

Nothing is more characteristic of Donne's poetry than his startlingly original imagery. In the sermons he is less deliberately bent on surprising his hearers, so that flowers and birds are not excluded from his metaphorical garden. Of the everlasting day of eternity he remarks: "And all the powerfull Kings, and all the beautifull Queenes of this world, were but as a bed of flowers, some gathered at six, some at seaven, some at eight, All in one Morning, in respect of this Day."[29]

Even more beautiful is the picture of the soul rising in dazzling whiteness "like a Lily in Paradise, out of red earth" from the enfolding blade of Christ's protecting merit.[30] Yet even in these comparisons there is usually some trace of that "fundamental brain-work" which distinguishes Donne's imagery from that of lesser men. In the last-mentioned passage the "red earth" is not merely a vivid contrast to the whiteness of the lily; it is also a reminder that in Donne's theology man was created from red soil. "In the great field of clay, of red earth, that man was made of, and mankind, I am a clod."[31]

There are some images in the sermons which surprise us by their homeliness. The preacher who indulges in empty rhetoric is described as a man who, "having made a Pye of Plums, without meat, offers it to sale in every Market."[32] The worldly man is likened to a foolish mother who "in the midst of many sweet children" wastes her time in making dolls for her own amusement, or to a man who pushes into a village fair to look upon "sixpenny pictures, and three-farthing prints," while at home he has "Chambers and Galleries . . . full of curious masterpeeces."[33] Or Donne goes to the poultry yard for a metaphor: "All egges are not hatched that the hen sits upon; neither could Christ himselfe get all the chickens that were hatched, to come, and to stay under his wings."[34]

[28] *LXXX Sermons,* No. 80, p. 820.
[29] *LXXX Sermons,* No. 73, p. 748.
[30] *Ibid.,* No. 27, p. 274.
[31] *Ibid.,* No. 34, p. 338.
[32] *Ibid.,* No. 12, p. 114.
[33] *Fifty Sermons,* No. 29, p. 256.
[34] *LXXX Sermons,* No. 7, p. 70.

Some of Donne's images are grotesque or macabre. The monstrously large, such as elephants[35] and whales, or the absurdly small, such as flies and fleas, appear in his prose works as well as in his poems. He has an elaborate comparison in which the preacher rebuking sin is likened to a fisherman harpooning a whale:

> The rebuke of sin, is like the fishing of *Whales;* the Marke is great enough; one can scarce misse hitting; but if there be not *sea room* and line enough, and a dexterity in letting out that line, he that hath fixed his harping Iron, in the Whale, endangers himselfe, and his boate; God hath made us *fishers of Men;* and when we have struck a *Whale,* touch'd the conscience of any person, which thought himselfe above rebuke, and increpation, it struggles, and strives, and as much as it can, endevours to draw fishers, and boate, the Man and his fortune into contempt, and danger. But if God tye a *sicknesse,* or any other calamity, to the end of the line, that will winde up this Whale againe, to the boate, bring back this rebellious sinner better advised, to the mouth of the Minister, for more counsaile, and to a better souplenesse, and inclinablenesse to conforme himselfe, to that which he shall after receive from him; onely calamity makes way for a rebuke to enter.[36]

Any anthology of Donne's prose will supply so many examples of the macabre that it is unnecessary here to do more than to quote one only, in which he adds a fresh touch to the well-worn image of life as a journey to a distant city by reminding his hearers of the gallows which were placed at a conspicuous spot outside any town of importance. "As he that travails weary, and late towards a great City, is glad when he comes to a place of execution, because he knows that is neer the town; so when thou comest to the gate of death, [be] glad of that, for it is but one step from that to thy *Jerusalem.*"[37]

The sermons contain a large number of images of that ingenious and far-fetched kind which distinguishes his poetry. As Dr. Johnson asked "Who but Donne would have thought that a good man is a telescope?" so we may ask in turn who else would have compared a good man's life to an engraving.

> Bee pleased to remember that those Pictures which are deliver'd in a minute, from a print upon a paper, had many dayes, weeks, Moneths time for the graving of those Pictures in the Copper; So this Picture of that dying

[35] For elephants see *Fifty Sermons,* No. 40, p. 372.
[36] *Fifty Sermons,* No. 10, pp. 74–75.
[37] *XXVI Sermons,* No. 20, pp. 294–295, first numbering.

Man, that dies in Christ, that dies the death of the Righteous, that embraces Death as a Sleepe, was graving all his life; All his publique actions were the lights, and all his private the shadowes of this Picture.[38]

In all these examples, the image, whether used for metaphor or simile, has been portrayed in set terms. But Donne can also suggest an image by the use of the appropriate verbs. "Implicite beleevers, ignorant beleevers, the adversary may swallow; but the understanding beleever, he must chaw, and pick bones, before he come to assimilate him, and make him like himself."[39] Here the verbs "swallow," "chaw," "pick bones," at once conjure up before the reader's eye a grim figure like that of Bunyan's Giant Slay-good who "was rifling Feeble-mind, with a purpose after that to pick his bones; for he was of the nature of flesh-eaters."

There are a certain number of images in Donne's sermons which give us a shock of surprise of a different kind. There is an incongruity about metaphors taken from the theater or the gaminghouse, used as they are by Donne to illustrate some profound truth of religion; it is the converse of his use in the poems of some image drawn from theology or metaphysics in the service of profane love. We feel a shock of surprise at the sight of these unequally yoked pairs. The discovery of occult resemblances between things apparently unlike was singled out by Dr. Johnson as one of the distinctive marks of the wit of Donne and his followers. When the things coupled are sacred and secular, a suggestion of profanity arises. In the love poems Donne is sometimes deliberately profane, and it may be that in the divine poems and the sermons he occasionally uses incongruous secular metaphors with the contrary intention of reclaiming that which had been polluted for the service of the sanctuary. Thus in one of the *Holy Sonnets* he cries to the picture of Christ:

> No, no; but as in my idolatrie
> I said to all my profane mistresses,
> Beauty, of pitty, foulnesse onely is
> A signe of rigour: so I say to thee,
> To wicked spirits are horrid shapes assigned,
> This beauteous forme assures a piteous minde.[40]

[38] *Ibid.*, No. 15, p. 218.
[39] *LXXX Sermons*, No. 18, p. 178.
[40] *Poems*, I.328.

So in the sermons we find: "God stoops even to the words of our foule and unchaste love, that thereby he might raise us to the heavenly love of himselfe, and his Son."[41]

It may be, however, that in these passages Donne was writing, as he usually did, with no watertight compartments in his mind. Life is one, in all its manifestations, ugly or beautiful; the reality behind is one, and is manifested in the secular as well as in the sacred. "All things that are, are equally removed from being nothing; and whatsoever hath any beeing, is by that very beeing, a glasse in which we see God, who is the roote, and the fountaine of all beeing."[42]

Thus Donne obtains for himself a range of imagery incomparably wider than that of other preachers. He can draw his metaphors from the royal court and the stage, from the tavern and the gaminghouse. Here is a striking reminder that Donne had been in his youth a great frequenter of plays. He says that God is not to be truly found by the soul in "those transitory and interlocutory prayers, which out of custome and fashion we make, and still proceed in our sin; when we pretend to speake to God, but like Comedians upon a stage, turne over our shoulder, and whisper to the Devill."[43]

The image of the gods as gamesters who sport with mankind in a game of chance is one that has found favor with atheistic philosophers, but was hardly to be expected from the pulpit of St. Paul's. Donne, however, uses it without any irreverence to condemn the deeper irreligion of those Puritan preachers who proclaimed man's predestination to damnation before his birth. The whole passage is a noble protest of a truly religious spirit against that grim doctrine:

> Never propose to thyself such a God as thou wert not bound to imitate: Thou mistakest God, if thou make him to be any such thing, or make him to do any such thing, as thou in thy proportion shouldst not be, or shouldst not do. And shouldst thou curse any man that had never offended, never transgrest, never trespast thee? Can God have done so? Imagine God, as the Poet saith, *Ludere in humanis,* to play but a *game at Chesse* with this world; to sport himself with making little things great, and great things nothing: Imagine God to be but at play with us, but a gamester; yet will a

[41] *LXXX Sermons,* No. 41, p. 406.
[42] *Ibid.,* No. 23, p. 227.
[43] *LXXX Sermons,* No. 59, p. 596.

gamester *curse,* before he be in danger of losing any thing? Will God curse man, before man have sinned?"[44]

There is an image drawn from the game of bowls, a favorite Elizabethan pastime, in *XXVI Sermons:* "For though it may seem a degree of flattery, to preach against little sins in such a City as this, where greater sins do abound; yet because these be the materials and elements of greater sins, (and it is impossible to say where a Bowl will lie, that is let fall down a hill, though it be let never so gently out of the hand) . . ."[45]

Beauty finds strange resting places. The perplexed and tortured soul of Donne sought her not in the light of setting suns, but in the obscure processes of the mind of man. He thought of the Supreme Beauty as a mathematical symbol—God the Circle. The beauty of nature was seen by him, not in sea or sky, but in "the peacefull succession, and connexion of causes, and effects."[46] "The correspondence and relation of all parts of Nature to one Author, the concinnity and dependence of every piece and joint of this frame of the world, the admirable order, the immutable succession, the lively and certain generation, and birth of effects from their Parents, the causes: in all these, though there be no sound, no voice, yet we may even see that it is an excellent song, an admirable piece of musick and harmony . . ."[47]

We cannot read Donne's sermons aright without realizing that this preacher was essentially a poet, who when he was debarred from the ordinary forms of verse threw his energy into weaving new rhythms and harmonies in prose. There was nothing unreal or factitious in such an exercise, nothing which detracted from his profound sincerity. He could not express the truth of himself save in poetry, or in a rhythmical prose which had all the essentials of poetry. Poetry to such a man as Donne is the resolution of an inner conflict, a means of harmonizing discordant forces. There are some of his sermons, admittedly only a few, which are in effect poems. Donne planned them under the influence of some strong emotion, and their structure is fundamentally

[44] *Fifty Sermons,* No. 26, p. 224.

[45] *XXVI Sermons,* No. 24, p. 335.

[46] *LXXX Sermons,* No. 15, p. 146. For God as a circle, *ibid.,* No. 2, p. 14: "God is a circle himselfe, and he will make thee one."

[47] *XXVI Sermons,* No. 13, p. 181 (second numbering).

that of a poem. A good example is to be found in the sermon preached in St. Paul's on Easter Day, 1629. Donne based it on a highly poetical passage of the Book of Job, that describing the vision of Eliphaz the Temanite. At first sight no text could seem less suitable for an Easter meditation than this Hebrew vision, in which Eliphaz, a wild man out of the desert, is shaken to the very marrow of his bones by an unseen presence which declares the unapproachable holiness of God.

> Fear came upon me, and trembling,
> which made all my bones to shake.
> Then a spirit passed before my face;
> the hair of my flesh stood up:
> It stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof:
> an image was before mine eyes;
> there was silence, and I heard a voice, saying,
> Shall mortal man be more just than God?
> shall a man be more pure than his Maker?
> Behold, he put no trust in his servants;
> and his angels he charged with folly:
> How much less in them that dwell in houses of clay,
> whose foundation is in the dust,
> which are crushed before the moth?
> They are destroyed from morning to evening:
> they perish for ever, without any regarding it.[48]

Donne evidently intended to shake his hearers out of the complacency with which they anticipated an eloquent sermon on somewhat conventional lines. For several years in succession he had given them his finest discourses on the resurrection of the dead. He believed profoundly in the Christian hope of immortality, but he himself had lately passed through deep waters of sorrow and sickness. In 1627 he had lost his daughter Lucy, and two beloved friends, Magdalen Danvers and Lucy Countess of Bedford. In the late summer of 1628 he had been attacked by a high fever and a quinsy, which confined him to his bed. For some weeks he was unable to preach, and a rumor got about that he was dead. He was now an old man by the standard of those days, and he knew that he had not much longer to live. Before the prospect of meeting the Eyes of God, he asked himself the question of the

[48] *Job* 4.14–20. The text given is that of the Authorized Version, except that the parallel clauses are printed on separate lines.

vision—"Shall mortal man be more just than God?"—and became conscious of his complete unworthiness. In the sermon, he presented to his hearers the dilemma of Eliphaz, and he arranged it in a series of paragraphs, at the end of which the text, which in the Hebrew is itself a line of poetry, is repeated as a refrain varying slightly from stanza to stanza. This was a device which he had used in several of his poems, such as "The Will," "An Epithalamion on the Lady Elizabeth and Count Palatine being married," and "Epithalamion made at Lincolnes Inne." In the sermon, the text, "Behold, he put no trust in his servants, and his Angels he charged with folly," is repeated at the end of nine paragraphs, first in the original form, and then with such modifications as "God put no trust in those servants, but . . . ," or, "In those servants he put no trust, and those Angels he charged with folly."

In the last three paragraphs the refrain is discarded, and Donne turns from the clouded vision of Eliphaz to the clearer revelation of God in Christ. He remembers that with the Lord there is mercy, and with Him is plenteous redemption. He offers to all his hearers the salvation which he himself has received. He rejoices in the multitude of those that shall be saved, and takes up into his own prose the great phrases of the *Te Deum,* which on Easter Day the Church sings with renewed gladness after the silence and austerity of Lent. "There is not only one Angel, a *Gabriel;* But *to thee all Angels cry aloud;* and Cherubim, and Seraphim, are plurall terminations; many Cherubs, many Seraphs in heaven. There is not only one Monarchall Apostle, a *Peter,* but *The glorious company of the Apostles praise thee.* There is not onely a Proto-Martyr, a *Stephen,* but *The noble army of Martyrs praise thee.*"[49]

Finally he returns to one of his favorite books, the Revelation of St. John, and recalls another version which had been in his mind for years—that in which St. John on the Isle of Patmos saw the four angels standing "at the round world's imagin'd corners," and then the great multitude that no man could number of the redeemed from every nation and kindred.

The key of David opens, and no man shuts. The Son of *David,* is the key of *David,* Christ Jesus; He hath opened heaven for us all; let no man shut out himself, by diffidence in Gods mercy, nor shut out any other man, by

[49] *LXXX Sermons,* No. 24, p. 241.

overvaluing his own purity, in respect of others.... That so, ... *that multitude which no man can number, of all Nations, and Kindreds, and People, and Tongues,* may enter with that acclamation, *Salvation to our God, which sitteth upon the Throne, and to the Lamb for ever.* And *unto this City of the living God, the heavenly Ierusalem, and to the innumerable company of Angels, to the generall assembly, and Church of the first born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Iudge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Iesus the Mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaks better things then that of Abel,* Blessed God bring us all, for thy Sons sake, and by the operation of thy Spirit. *Amen.*

Thus, though the sermon is written in prose, its underlying structure is poetical. We are reminded of the words of a living poet who is also well known for his prose, Sir Osbert Sitwell, who has declared: "I can claim never to have written a book, or a short story, or an essay that I did not conceive as if it were a poem, and in that resides the value, such as it is, of my work."[50] We may doubt whether Donne would have made such a claim for the large number of his sermons which are occupied chiefly with doctrinal or controversial matters, but we can make it for the beautiful sermon which he preached on the death of the righteous on the first Friday in Lent, 1627/1628. This is conceived as a poem on the text, "When he had said this, he fell asleep." Sleep here is the sleep of death, not to Donne the "sleep that knows no waking," but the sleep from which the righteous awake to find themselves in the immediate presence of God.

Donne opens his sermon thus: "He that will dy with Christ upon Good-Friday, must hear his own bell toll all Lent; he that will be partaker of his passion at last, must conform himself to his discipline of prayer and fasting before.... We begin to hear Christs bell toll now, and is not our bell in the chime?"[51]

He considers the life and death of St. Stephen as a model for the Christian, and uses prose of the ordinary kind for most of the sermon. Then, as he nears the close, he turns from edification to ecstasy. Poetry is the only possible vehicle, as Dante knew, for conveying even a remote apprehension of the meaning of the Beatific Vision. Once again Donne turns to an Old Testament story for his starting point—that of

[50] *Great Morning* (London, 1948), p. 135.
[51] *XXVI Sermons,* No. 15, p. 205.

Jacob in the wilderness, fleeing from his brother's vengeance, and sleeping at last in exhaustion with his head pillowed on a great stone. In his sleep he sees a ladder set up from earth to heaven, on which the angels of God ascend and descend continually, while above it stands the God against whom he has sinned, and who yet promises him mercy and guidance. "And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and said, Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not. And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place! This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." With exquisite artistry Donne omits Jacob's fear, and chooses only those phrases which suit the awakening of the righteous. He continues:

> They shall awake as *Jacob* did,
> and say as *Jacob* said,
> *Surely the Lord is in this place,*
> *and this is no other but the house of God,*
> *and the gate of heaven,*
> And into that gate they shall enter,
> and in that house they shall dwell,
> where there shall be no Cloud nor Sun,
> no darkenesse nor dazling,
> but one equall light,
> no noyse nor silence,
> but one equall musick,
> no fears nor hopes,
> but one equall possession,
> no foes nor friends,
> but one equall communion and Identity,
> no ends nor beginnings,
> but one equall eternity.

Keepe us Lord so awake in the duties of our Callings, that we may thus sleepe in thy Peace, and wake in thy glory, . . .[52]

[52] *XXVI Sermons,* No. 15, p. 219. We have printed the parallel clauses on separate lines to make the construction clear.

Explanatory Note to Text and Critical Apparatus

THE FOLLOWING alterations of the original printed or manuscript texts will in the present edition be made without specific notation in the critical apparatus:

1) Consonantal "i" and "u," and vocalic "j" and "v," which are normally employed in the editions and manuscripts dating from Donne's lifetime, will be changed to "j," "v," "i," and "u," respectively, except where they occur in italicized phrases. (These changes bring the texts into accord with the normal practice in the Folios.)

2) Doubled "v" for "w" ("vv" and "VV") will be printed as "w," "W." ("w" and "W" are normally used in the Folios, but occasional deviations occur.)

3) Long "s" (*"ſ"*) will be printed as "s," in accord with modern practice.

4) A number of obvious abbreviations will be expanded, such as "K." for "King," "wth" for "with," "w^{ch}" for "which," "nūber" for "number," "Aug." for "Augustine," etc. (The Folios and early editions have no consistent practice in this respect.)

5) the ampersand "&" will be expanded to "and" in English phrases, and to "Et" when it occurs at the beginning of a Latin phrase. (This accords with the normal practice in the Folios, though they are not entirely consistent in following it, the inconsistencies being obviously due to carelessness on the part of typesetters.)

Every change in punctuation from the basic text, whether made by the present editors or adopted from a text other than that chosen as basic, is listed in the critical apparatus.

Variant readings from manuscripts or from other printed versions are listed in the critical apparatus when they have any possible relevance to the determination of Donne's intentions. Since the variants in wording, to say nothing of those in punctuation, spelling, and the like, run sometimes as high as a thousand for a single sermon, a complete listing would be far more confusing than helpful to the reader. Obvious blunders occurring in only one of the poorer manuscripts, such as *A, L,* and *P,* or in the very unreliable text of *Six Sermons,* are

specifically noted only when they seem to have some interest or significance to the student.

The wording adopted by Alford in his 1839 edition of the sermons is listed in the critical apparatus only (1) when he follows his basic source and the present editors make a conjectural change, or (2) when he makes a conjectural emendation of his basic source and the present editors agree with his emendation.

Marginal references to Scripture occurring in either the basic text or any other are included, but are corrected when wrong, each correction being listed in the critical apparatus. Other Scriptural references, supplied by the present editors, are occasionally added in the margins, printed in square brackets; and incomplete references are sometimes expanded, the expansion being also placed in brackets.

Certain practices of the seventeenth-century texts are, even though they may be somewhat irritating to a modern reader, left unaltered, since any attempt to modernize would necessarily be to some degree conjectural. Such are (1) the usual practice in the three Folios of using question marks instead of exclamation points at the end of what are almost certainly exclamatory rather than interrogative sentences; (2) the common spelling of "then" for the two words we now spell respectively "then" and "than," and of "whither" for the words we now spell "whither" and "whether"; and (3) the frequent use of arabic numerals not only in marginal references but also in the printing of the preacher's own words.[1]

One practice in which the printed editions and the manuscripts alike vary is in regard to "there is" and "that is." Frequently, in two texts of the same passage, one will contain the expanded form and the other the contraction "there's" or "that's." The frequency of these contracted forms may quite possibly be due to a habit of Donne's when speaking. At least, the present editors have made no attempt at consistency in this particular, but follow the basic text.

The following forms are used in the critical apparatus:

1) When a variant is being listed, but the reading of the basic text

[1] Such arabic numerals cannot be expanded into words with any surety that the expansion represents Donne's wording. For example, for "65" would Donne have said "sixty-five," or "five and sixty," or "three score and five"?

is adopted, a single square bracket is placed after the adopted reading; for example,

occasion] occasions *M, Dob*

2) When the reading of a text other than the basic text is adopted, it is listed according to the following form:

be *M, Dob, Q* : is *F*

3) When corrected and uncorrected states in different copies of the same edition are being listed, the following form appears:

do *F corr* : does *F originally*

4) Most of the corrections of the basic text that seem obvious to the present editors are in the notes merely listed beside the reading of the basic text; for example.

spirit, or : spirit or, *F*

Rarely, however, in sermons with variant versions, an editorial change that seems obvious but is not in any of the source texts is indicated by the symbol. *"Edd."*

5) Changes made by the present editors that are conjectural are indicated by the following form:

those *Edd. conj.* : these *F*

Other forms used in the critical apparatus are self-explanatory.

Abbreviations and Variant Forms Used for Scriptural References in Margins of Text

THE ABBREVIATIONS for different Books of the Bible vary somewhat in the different manuscripts and early editions. The present editors have followed at each occurrence the text chosen as the basic source; and when they have themselves added Scriptural references, in square brackets, they have used what seems to them the commonest abbreviation.

Scripture references are to the King James Version. *F* is almost but not quite always consistent in this practice. When, rarely, the reference in the basic text is to the Vulgate, it is in the present edition changed to refer to the King James Version, and a note to this effect is given in the Critical Apparatus.

Cap.	*Chapter*
ult.	*Last verse*
V. or *v.*	*Verse*
Ver.	*Verse*
Abac.	*Habakkuk*
Act.	*Acts*
Agg.	*Haggai*
Ap.	*Apocalypse,* i.e., *Revelation*
Apo.	(The same)
Apoc.	(The same)
Apocal.	(The same)
Can.	*Canticles,* i.e., *The Song of Solomon* or *Song of Songs*
Cant.	(The same)
Chr.	*Chronicles*
Chro.	*Chronicles*
Chron.	*Chronicles*
Col.	*Colossians*
Colos.	*Colossians*
Coloss.	*Colossians*
Cor.	*Corinthians*
Dan.	*Daniel*
Deu.	*Deuteronomy*
Deut.	*Deuteronomy*
Eccl.	*Ecclesiastes*
Eccle.	*Ecclesiastes*
Eccles.	*Ecclesiastes*
Ecclus.	*Ecclesiasticus*
Eph.	*Ephesians*
Ephe.	*Ephesians*
Ephes.	*Ephesians*
Esa.	*Isaiah*
Esai.	*Isaiah*
Esay.	*Isaiah*
Ex.	*Exodus*
Exo.	*Exodus*
Exod.	*Exodus*
Eze.	*Ezekiel*
Ezech.	*Ezekiel*
Ezeck.	*Ezekiel*
Ezek.	*Ezekiel*
Gal.	*Galatians*
Galat.	*Galatians*
Gen.	*Genesis*
Genes.	*Genesis*
Hab.	*Habakkuk*
Habak.	*Habakkuk*
Hag.	*Haggai*
Hagg.	*Haggai*
Heb.	*Hebrews*
Hebr.	*Hebrews*
Hos.	*Hosea*

Hose.	*Hosea*
Iacob.	*Jacobus,* i.e., *James*
Iam.	*James*
Ier.	*Jeremiah*
Iere.	*Jeremiah*
Ierem.	*Jeremiah*
Ieremy	*Jeremiah*
Io.	*John* or *Job*
Ioh.	*John*
Ion.	*Jonah*
Ios.	*Joshua*
Iosh.	*Joshua*
Isa.	*Isaiah*
Isai.	*Isaiah*
Iud.	*Judges* or *Jude*
Iudg.	*Judges*
Ja.	*James*
Jam.	*James*
Jer.	*Jeremiah*
Jerem.	*Jeremiah*
Jeremy	*Jeremiah*
Jo.	*John*
Joh.	*John*
Jonas	*Jonah*
Jos.	*Joshua*
Josh.	*Joshua*
Jud.	*Judges*
Judg.	*Judges*
Kin.	*Kings*
King.	*Kings*
Lam.	*Lamentations*
Lament.	*Lamentations*
Lev.	*Leviticus*
Levi.	*Leviticus*
Levit.	*Leviticus*
Luc.	*Lucas,* i.e., *Luke*
Luk.	*Luke*
Macab.	*Maccabees*
Macc.	*Maccabees*
Mal.	*Malachi*
Malac.	*Malachi*
Malach.	*Malachi*
Mar.	*Mark*
Mat.	*Matthew*
Math.	*Matthew*
Matt.	*Matthew*
Matth.	*Matthew*
Mic.	*Micah*
Mich.	*Micheas,* i.e., *Micah*
Nah.	*Nahum*
Nehem.	*Nehemiah*
Num.	*Numbers*
Numb.	*Numbers*
Obad.	*Obadiah*
Ose.	*Osea,* i.e., *Hosea*
Paral.	*Paralipomenon,* i.e., *Chronicles*
Pet.	*Peter*
Phil.	*Philippians*
Philem.	*Philemon*
Pro.	*Proverbs*
Prov.	*Proverbs*
Ps.	*Psalms*
Psa.	*Psalms*
Psal.	*Psalms*
Psalm.	*Psalms*
Reg.	*Kings*
Rev.	*Revelation*
Reve.	*Revelation*
Revel.	*Revelation*
Ro.	*Romans*
Rom.	*Romans*
Sam.	*Samuel*
Sap.	*Sapientia,* i.e., *The Wisdom of Solomon*
Thes.	*Thessalonians*
Thess.	*Thessalonians*
Thr.	*Threnodia,* i.e., *Lamentations*
Thren.	(The same)
Tim.	*Timothy*
Tit.	*Titus*
Vulg.	*Vulgate*
Wisd.	*Wisdom of Solomon*
Zach.	*Zechariah*
Zech.	*Zechariah*
Zecha.	*Zechariah*
Zechary	*Zechariah*
Zeph.	*Zephaniah*

Introduction to the Sermons in Volume I

By January 23, 1615,[1] when John Donne at the age of forty-two was ordained, his fundamental position on ecclesiastical matters was settled and was well known to the King and to the church authorities. He was loyal to the Church of England, as the reformed branch of the universal Church established by Christ, and believed that that church should keep to a *via media* between Roman Catholicism and all the many varieties of early seventeenth-century nonconformity that were then, and still are, usually lumped under the vague term of Puritanism.

According to Izaak Walton's account, King James "persuaded" Donne to enter the ministry, not long after reading Donne's *Pseudo-Martyr,* which was published in 1610:

> When the King had read and considered that book, he persuaded Mr. Donne to enter into the Ministry; to which, at that time, he was, and appeared, very unwilling, apprehending it—such was his mistaken modesty—to be too weighty for his abilities: and though his Majesty had promised him a favour, and many persons of worth mediated with his Majesty for some secular employment for him,—to which his education had adapted him—and particularly the Earl of Somerset, when in his greatest height of favour; who being then at Theobalds with the King, where one of the Clerks of the Council died that night, the Earl posted a messenger for Mr. Donne to come to him immediately, and at Mr. Donne's coming, said, "Mr. Donne, to testify the reality of my affection, and my purpose to prefer you, stay in this garden till I go up to the King, and bring you word that you are Clerk of the Council: doubt not my doing this, for I know the King loves you, and know the King will not deny me." But the King gave a positive denial to all requests, and, having a discerning

[1] I.e., 1614/1615. For the evidence of the date of Donne's ordination, see the letter to Sir Edward Herbert first printed in Hayward's edition of Donne's *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*. For Donne's age at the time, see W. Milgate, "The Date of Donne's Birth," *Notes and Queries* (London), November 16, 1946, pp. 206–208, and I. A. Shapiro, "Donne's Birth Date," *ibid.*, July 19, 1952, pp. 310–313.

spirit, replied, "I know Mr. Donne is a learned man, has the abilities of a learned Divine, and will prove a powerful preacher; and my desire is to prefer him that way, and in that way I will deny you nothing for him."

After that time, as he professeth, "the King descended to a persuasion, almost to a solicitation, of him to enter into sacred Orders:" which, though he then denied not, yet he deferred it for almost three years. All which time he applied himself to an incessant study of Textual Divinity, and to the attainment of a greater perfection in the learned languages, Greek and Hebrew.

A student of Donne's life never feels certain just how much of Walton's account to take at its face value. When he quotes speeches, such as those of Somerset and the King regarding Donne's career, the actual words are probably his own invention, based on memory of what he recalled from conversations with Donne in later years. His dates and times are not by any means always correct, deriving again from his memories of Donne's memories. Yet he was closer to Donne and to the events than any later biographer has been, and is not likely to have described episodes having no basis whatever in fact. We know from letters Donne wrote to Lord Hay and to Rochester, in 1611 or 1612,[2] that he had then, as he put it, come to "a resolution of making divinity my profession," and was hopeful that Rochester would assist him. Therefore, Donne could hardly have been *resisting* the King's persuasion three years before his ordination, as Walton implies. Gosse thought that the famous interview described by Walton occurred about November 20, 1614, and that only a few days intervened before Donne's acceptance of the King's offer; but the evidence on which Gosse assigns that later date is chiefly a letter from Donne to Sir George More[3] that is hardly specific enough to warrant so confident a conclusion. At least, whether the King spoke to Donne in 1614, or 1612, or 1610, and whatever may have been the states or changes of

[2] These letters are in the Tobie Matthew collection. Gosse printed them in his *Life and Letters of John Donne,* II, 20–21. The letters are themselves undated; but they obviously must have been written after March 25, 1611, when Carr was made Viscount Rochester, and before January, 1612/1613, by which time Donne had unquestionably achieved some sort of recognition from Rochester. (See Gosse, II, 24–25. Gosse is frequently too confident in dating Donne's letters on slight evidence, but his date of 1614 for the letter to "G. K." that he prints on those pages is practically certain.)

[3] See Gosse, *op. cit.,* II, 60–61.

Donne's mind between the interview and his ordination, something at least very much like it must have actually occurred; for Donne himself several times, later in his life, paid grateful tribute to James for having "inclined" and "exhorted" him to enter holy orders.[4]

King James knew what he was about when he persuaded Donne to become a clergyman. To recognize Donne's potential ability as a preacher showed personal acumen in the royal mind; but James was acting not merely on the basis of prophetic intuition (for it would have required that to foresee the wonderful eloquence of Donne's best sermons on the basis of the undistinguished prose of, say, his *Pseudo-Martyr*). He must have perceived even in the Donne of 1615 a man after his own heart. He had seen as early as 1610 that the *Pseudo-Martyr* showed its author's readiness to uphold the royal policy and prerogative. He could have obtained, and doubtless did, plenty of evidence and assurance that Donne's attitude had not changed in that respect, from friends and patrons of the poet—including, of course, Rochester (who by 1615 had become Earl of Somerset). Donne's Roman Catholic parentage would hardly have troubled him, his own mother Mary Stuart having herself been a famous adherent to that faith. It is uncertain whether or not he then perceived in Donne what appears in at least one private letter of about this time, a deep-seated longing for some sort of unity in the universal church, a conviction (far from the opinion of many Anglican clergymen) that the Roman and English ecclesiastical systems are both Christian, are "sister teats of His graces, yet both diseased and infected, but not both alike."[5] If he perceived this, it might very well have added to his liking for

[4] Letter from Donne to Sir Robert Ker, written sometime after 1623: "For, as when I sit still and reckon all my old master's royal favours to me, I return evermore to that, that he first inclined me to be a minister."

Dedication of *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions,* to Prince Charles, in 1624: "In my second birth, your Highness's royal father vouchsafed me his hand, not only to sustain me in it, but to lead me to it."

Inscription above the marble effigy of Donne in his shroud, still preserved in St. Paul's Cathedral: "Johannes Donne, Sac. Theol. Profess. Post varia studia quibus ab annis tenerrimus fideliter, nec infeliciter incubuit; instinctu et impulsu Sp. Sancti, monitu et hortatu Regis Jacobi, ordines sacros amplexus anno sui Jesu MDCXIV et suae aetatis XLII." According to Walton, the inscription was affixed "by Dr. Donne's own appointment."

[5] Letter, undated, to Sir Henry Goodyer. Cf. Gosse, *op. cit.,* II, 78.

Donne; for his own changeable policy regarding the Roman Catholic recusants in England suggests a similar personal attitude, though as king he would hardly have expressed it openly. On the other hand, Donne's often-expressed intense dislike for the Jesuits and their political machinations—a feeling shared at the time not only by the Protestants but by many English Roman Catholics as well—would also have been reassuring. Donne showed as much promise as any person of the time could have shown of becoming both an able and (in James's view) a politically safe church official; and his succeeding career in the pulpit confirmed that promise.

He must also, on the whole, have been acceptable to George Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury. Gosse[6] lays a good deal of stress on his opinion that Abbott disliked and disapproved of Donne. Gosse bases his conclusion, however, on evidence that is partly incorrect and partly negative. He is mistaken in citing as a cause of Abbott's dislike Donne's supposed activity on behalf of the nullity suit of the Countess of Essex against her then husband the Earl, for it was Sir Daniel Dunne, not John Donne, who was thus active.[7] His statement that there is no evidence of cordiality and liking on Abbott's part presents at best purely negative evidence; and obviously a lack of evidence for cordiality does not by itself prove the opposite. Abbott may well have been somewhat skeptical of the worth of a man who was in some degree a protégé of Somerset's and who in his younger days had led a far from saintly life; and Donne certainly felt somewhat worried about Abbott's attitude toward him at the time of his ordination. Nevertheless, if there is, as Gosse says, no evidence that Abbott liked Donne, there is also no evidence that he did not. And Abbott, in spite of (or perhaps rather because of) his personal leanings toward presbyterianism, considered his archbishopric, and the other administrative offices of the Church of England, as positions with authority delegated by the King rather than with divine rights in themselves. (In this attitude

[6] Gosse, *op. cit.*, II, 62.

[7] This mistake of Gosse's was pointed out soon after his *Life and Letters of John Donne* appeared. Cf. a review of the *Life*, in *The Athenaeum* for November 11, 1899, and a note in the same periodical for December 16, 1899. The most thorough marshaling of the evidence to date is in Evelyn M. Simpson's *Study of the Prose Works of Donne*, the edition of 1948, pp. 29–30.

he differed from such distinguished churchmen as Lancelot Andrews.) Abbott was, then, in essential ways the King's creature as well as his creation; and some, at least, of the characteristics in Donne that satisfied James must have satisfied Abbott too.

Historians looking back upon the reign of James and conscious of what happened to his successor emphasize the growing incompatibility between the King and the bishops on the one hand and Parliament and the Puritans on the other. Viewed from any historical vantage point after 1649, this emphasis is entirely sound. To suppose, however, that many Englishmen living in the reign of James recognized fully the significance to the future of this struggle, would be unsound. The story of the short-lived Parliament that met in 1614, a few months before Donne's ordination, is portentous; and doubtless *some* people at the time recognized the portent. Yet the nickname that soon became attached to it—the "Addled Parliament"—shows popular amusement and a dissatisfaction with that Parliament for doing no business, rather than a recognition of imminent and fateful struggle. Turning over the pages of controversial and other pamphlets published from about 1610 to 1625 leaves a reader with a very different impression from that which he gains upon similarly surveying the pamphlets in the later 1630's and the 1640's. Again and again in the earlier pamphlets the tone rises to shrill or hoarse notes of hatred and fear toward the Pope, the Roman church, the Jesuits, and Spain; far less often do those notes sound on either side of controversies between the bishops' party and the Puritans, or among the different factions of the Puritans. In contrast, a decade later nearly all the pamphlets are vehemently on one side or another in relation to Puritanism. Donne, along with his fellow Anglo-Catholics, disliked the Puritans, and disagreed sharply with many of their doctrines and opinions. In his sermons, however—especially in the earlier ones,—he shows far less concern with these differences than with the struggle between the English and the Roman churches. In this relative emphasis he was by both instinct and conscious strategy following the taste and the popular expectation of his times.

His earliest extant sermons have special interest to a student of his career because they reveal the newly made clergyman feeling his way, walking delicately to adapt his discourse to the people and authorities

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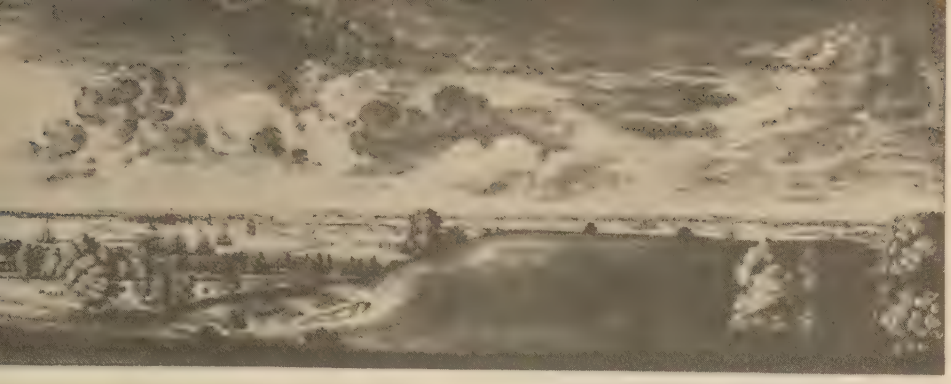
that would judge it and to avoid treading on sensitive toes. They reveal, too, his very natural use of certain ideas he had developed years before his ordination, and his gradual progress in testing both the reactions of his congregations and his own native powers. Donne, especially in his early years of preaching, was no uncompromising and saintly idealist, no prophet uttering the bald truth without regard for the consequences. He was, to be sure, a sincere believer in the essential doctrines and discipline of the church whose service he had entered; but he was also keenly alive to the all too human mixture of personalities and politics in that church's affairs, and to the necessity of being not only harmless as the dove but also politically wise as the serpent if he was to achieve success in the profession he had adopted. Considering the lateness in life of his entry into that profession, the circumstances, and the conditions of the time—conditions he had come to know only too well through many bitter years,—who will blame him?

In considering the significance of these earliest sermons, a reader needs to recognize the fact that they are only a few out of many that he delivered in those three years. We have records of his preaching various sermons the contents of which are lost to us and which might, if we possessed copies of them, reveal facts about Donne's mind that we should find most illuminating. It would, for example, be exceedingly interesting to be able to read the very first sermon he preached, which Izaak Walton tells us was delivered at Paddington. Such gaps, however, always exist in the evidence for our understanding any writer or thinker of the past. We can judge only from what we have; and in Donne's case we have a great deal.

Even though these first nine sermons are in many respects experimental and (in relation to Donne's career in the pulpit) immature,



laus Hollar, 1637

every one of them has been of enough interest to previous scholars and anthologists to have been excerpted and quoted.[8] It is rather surprising that the one most often excerpted has been No. 3, the long sermon on *Proverbs* 22.11; for that sermon is certainly not the best or the most interesting of the nine. Similarly surprising is the fact that the two very impressive sermons on *I Timothy* 1.15 (Nos. 8 and 9) have been comparatively neglected by scholars—with the notable exception of L. I. Bredvold, who in his stimulating essay on Donne's religious thought quotes no fewer than eight times from No. 8 and twice from No. 9.[9] It is not, however, surprising to find that No. 5, the beautiful discourse on love preached before Queen Anne, has been quoted a number of times, since it is both one of the best and one of the most characteristic sermons Donne preached during his earlier years as a clergyman.

Sermon No. 1.—The earliest sermon of Donne's that we possess is on *Isaiah* 52.3—"Ye have sold your selves for nought, and ye shall be redeemed without money." The heading in *XXVI Sermons* states that it was preached on April 30, 1615, "at Greenwich." Jessopp, knowing that the Queen's favorite residence was at Greenwich, that she was at this time spending a good deal of money in repairing and improving her residence, and that there, a week before April 30, James had by her request made Villiers a knight and a Gentleman of the

[8] A survey of such quotations indicates that of the sermons in the present volume No. 3 has been quoted by at least nine anthologists and critics, No. 2 by at least four, No. 5 by four, No. 7 by two, No. 9 by two, and Nos. 1, 4, 6, and 8 by at least one. Our survey is doubtless far from complete, but the proportionate representations are significant.

[9] "The Religious Thought of Donne in Relation to Medieval and Later Traditions," in *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne,* University of Michigan, published by Macmillan in 1925.

Bedchamber, concluded that Donne must have preached this sermon before her and stated so as if it were a proved fact. Gosse, Fausset, and Hardy all follow Jessopp in taking the Queen's presence for granted. This assumption is, however, quite unjustified. There is no positive evidence or contemporary testimony that the sermon was preached in the Queen's presence or even at the Queen's residence. Greenwich was, of course, at that time a village, and contained a parish church as well as the royal park and buildings.[10] Donne might have preached the sermon at the village church. In fact, the testimony of Izaak Walton makes it appear not unlikely that he did. Walton says, concerning the beginning of Donne's career as a churchman:

> And though his long familiarity with scholars and persons of greatest quality was such, as might have given some men boldness enough to have preached to any eminent auditory; yet his modesty in this employment was such, that he could not be persuaded to it, but went usually accompanied with some one friend to preach privately in some village, not far from London; his first Sermon being preached at Paddington. This he did, till his Majesty sent and appointed him a day to preach to him at Whitehall . . .

A letter of Donne's to Sir Robert Ker seems to refer to one of these early expeditions and to date from this year.[11] Donne writes:

> I go tomorrow to Camberwell, a mile beyond Southwark. But from this town goes with me my brother Sir Thomas Grymes and his Lady, and I with them. There we dine well enough I warrant you, with his father-in-law, Sir Thomas Hunt. If I keep my whole promise, I shall preach both forenoon and afternoon.

We do not, to be sure, know on what date Donne first preached at Whitehall before the King, and hence cannot be quite certain whether this sermon on Isaiah comes before or after that date. It is, however, at least probable that James, before summoning him to Whitehall, gave him several months to prepare himself.

Furthermore, there is no internal evidence in the sermon itself that points toward its being prepared for the Queen's presence (in contrast with the sermon on *Proverbs* 8.17, No. 5 in the present volume, which in its heading is stated to have been preached before her and is

[10] See Hollar's picture of Greenwich in 1637, reproduced on pp. 114–115.

[11] Gosse so dates it: *op. cit.*, II, 81.

throughout obviously adapted to her ears); and what internal evidence there is points the other way. This sermon on Isaiah, with its continual analogies and applications to buying and selling, the laws regarding prodigals, and such matters, seems intended, rather, for a congregation of practical men in trade or business. Jessopp thought he discerned signs in the sermon that Donne had the purpose of lifting up his voice against the extravagant spending of the time. Evidence in the sermon for Donne's having had such a purpose more than incidentally is pretty slight, but even if Jessopp's belief could be considered well grounded, it would only increase the difficulty of supposing that Donne planned it for delivery before the Queen. Anne was at that very time spending large sums on the royal estate at Greenwich; and to deliver a sermon against extravagance, however apropos it might have been, would certainly not have been tactful. The prophets Amos and Jeremiah might have done such a thing, but hardly Donne, who had so recently been persuaded into orders by the King and was hoping for preferment from his royal master. On the whole, it seems probable that Donne delivered this sermon not in Queen Anne's residence or presence, but modestly at the parish church in Greenwich, "accompanied with some one friend." A copy may have been prepared for that friend, whoever he was, and have been preserved through the years until it fell into the hands of John Donne the younger when he was collecting material for the third volume of his father's sermons.

The sermon is interesting for several reasons. It has little of the eloquence and emotional drive that mark Donne's greatest discourses, and its style shows more of the dry ingenuity of his earlier prose than of the beauty in phrasing and the poetic imagery that characterize his preaching at its best. Donne was only beginning to find himself in his new vocation. He utilizes—rather obtrusively in this sermon—his knowledge of legal technicalities. He keeps strictly to the conventions of ecclesiastical rhetoric in placing, dividing, expounding, and applying his Scriptural text; there is a certain rigidity of form, which he soon outgrew, and which is natural enough in a preacher who is not yet adjusted to speaking from a pulpit. His use of patristic sources is scattered and comparatively slight—in contrast with his later continual reference to the Fathers,—though he shows already a character-

istic interest in St. Augustine. He develops his ideas by ingenious logic and paradox, rather than by appeal to the emotions of his hearers. Even his logic is occasionally questionable, as when he says that if a person die "under the weight of unrepented sins, God will do the devil no wrong, he will not take a soul, that is sold to him before," soon after he has stressed at some length the point that our selling ourselves to the devil "is a void bargain, because we had no title, no interest in our selves, when we sold our selves."[12]

With these signs of immaturity in preaching, however, are other signs that a distinguished pulpit orator is in the making. He chooses with a sure instinct and firm decision the interpretation of his text that will give him the fullest opportunity for profitable and striking application. Though he quotes in the sermon itself only the wording of the Authorized Version, he remembered—as he so frequently did during his earlier years in the Church—the wording of his text in the Geneva Bible: "Ye were sold for nought: therefore shall ye be redeemed without money." He stresses, that is, a causal relation between the two parts of Isaiah's saying. As he puts it early in the sermon, "All this improvident bargain of ours is voided, and reversed, and not though, but because we have sold our selves, for nought, we shall be redeemed without money."[13] He shows penetration as well as ingenuity in developing the first main idea, that we sell ourselves for nothing. Such observations as the following hit home in the conscience as well as attract the attention of any thoughtful reader or listener:

> The Prodigal consumes that that should maintain his Prodigality: It is *peccatum Biathanaton,* a sin that murders itself. . . .[14]
>
> We find in the history of the *Muscovits,* that it is an ordinary detainder amongst them, to sell themselves, and their posterity, into everlasting bondage, for hot drink: In one winter, a wretched man will drink himself, and his posterity, into perpetual slavery. But we sell our selves, not for drink, but for thirst: we are sory when our appetite too soon decaies, and we would fain sin more than we do. . . .[15]
>
> We have inconsiderately sold our selves for nothing; we have in our bargain, diseases, and we have poverty, and we have unsensibleness of our

[12] Pp. 152–153 of the present volume.
[13] P. 153.
[14] P. 155.
[15] P. 157.

miseries; but diseases are but privations of health, and poverty but a privation of wealth, and unsensibleness but a privation of tenderness of Conscience; all are privations, and privations are nothing. If a man had got nothing by a bargain but repentance, he would think, and justly, he had got little: but if thou hadst repentance in this bargain, thy bargain were the better; if thou couldst come to think thy bargain bad, it were a good bargain.[16]

These are all direct appeals to reason and logic, to the intelligence of his hearers, and touch the feelings only indirectly. Such appeals are thoroughly characteristic of him, for his vehement spirit had always, from his youth, been stirred by the relationships among ideas, by what were to him the tantalizing and exciting results of subtle logical reasoning. Throughout his career as a preacher he continued to make such appeals. Being sensitive to the response of his hearers, however, he soon discovered that a successful preacher must do more than make his congregation think, and that the feelings of most people are best moved by means other than those depending upon logical analysis. More and more, as his preaching continued, he combined ingenuity, paradox, the logical balancing of ideas, and epigrammatic statement, with the hypnotic power of rhetoric, the music of word-sounds, the emotional appeal of beautiful imagery (there is, surprisingly, far more *obviously* beautiful imagery in his sermons than one ever finds in his verse), and the dramatic rather than purely logical juxtaposition and balance of opposites. It would be folly to argue that these later developments came wholly consciously on his part; for he himself changed, through his own later life's experience and through a reciprocal sympathy with the people whose souls he served and longed to save. But the development comes with the succession of sermons over several years, and only the beginnings are observable in this earliest sermon. A reader feels perhaps something more than intellectual interest in its last paragraph, the peroration centering upon *Isaiah* 55.1—"Ho every one that thirsteth,"—but the direct appeal to feeling is even here more in the glorious words of the Scriptural text than in Donne's elaboration of them.

Especially noteworthy is the contrast in effectiveness between Donne's treatment of human sin, in the first part of this sermon, and

[16] Pp. 158–159 of the present volume.

the exposition of divine grace and redemption which follows and concludes the discourse. The latter part is far less effective than the earlier. In several of these earliest sermons, a reader can perceive the same contrast. Donne came to the pulpit from the secular world, and from years of bitterness, disillusion, self-criticism, and even self-torture. From the beginning of his ministry he was completely and painfully aware of the power of sin and the necessity of warning and exhorting people against it. He was also from the first *intellectually* convinced of the adequacy of Christ's redemption of mankind from its sin; but to accept a doctrine consciously is not always to feel a deep and clear inward conviction of its truth, a full realization of its meaning. Donne's mind and heart developed rapidly toward such a realization, as can be seen by successive sermons, even by those included in the present volume. It did not, however, come immediately, and does not show itself in this sermon on *Isaiah.*

Sermon No. 2.—The second of his sermons that we possess also shows Donne's early preoccupation with sin and damnation rather than with grace and salvation. Sermon No. 2 was, according to its heading in *XXVI Sermons,* preached at Whitehall, April 21, 1616. It can hardly be the first sermon he preached before James, the one by which, as Walton tells us, "he was so happy—which few are—as to satisfy and exceed" the expectations of the court. There is no indication whether the King was or was not present on April 21, 1616. Jessopp suggests that as Donne delivered this sermon the minds of his hearers must have applied it to the recent shocking disclosures regarding Sir Thomas Overbury's murder. This may, not impossibly, have been so, although the sermon contains no reference direct or indirect to that murder. In fact, it makes no direct reference whatever to court life, but concerns itself either with purely individual sins or with those involved in the management of farms or other estates.

It is not likely to be a favorite sermon with present-day readers. It holds strictly to an exposition of its severe text, "Because sentence against an evil work, is not executed speedily, Therefore the heart of the children of men, is fully set in them, to do evil"; and its concentration upon sin is complete and unrelieved. It is, however, one of the most pungent and penetrating discourses that Donne ever gave; all the more so because of its objectivity.

"We shall consider," says Donne dryly, in the "Divisio" of his text, "first, The general perversness of a natural man, who by custom in sin, comes to assign a Reason why he may sin; intimated in the first word, *Because*. And secondly, The particular perversness of the men in this Text, who assign the patience of God, to be the Reason of their continuance in sin, *Because sentence is not executed speedily*. And then lastly, The illusion upon this, what a fearful state this shuts them up in, *That therefore their hearts are fully set in them, to do evil*."[17] The emphasis upon Reason is deliberate, and persists throughout the sermon. As we have remarked in discussing Sermon No. 1, this is characteristic of Donne's first two or three years in the pulpit, and is not always well adapted to his purposes. In the present sermon, however, the tone of calm logical analysis gives just the effect most appropriate to its thought-content. It is the coolness of a judge analyzing for the jury and in the presence of the poor wretch who is on trial the evidence pointing toward a verdict of guilty and a sentence that the said defendant be hanged by the neck until he is dead. Donne does not even dwell long upon the inevitability of God's punishment, but spends most of his time in a shrewd analysis of the nature of sin itself; yet his brief, almost careless, enumeration of Scriptural instances illustrating God's occasional swift punishment of apparently slight sins is as terrifying as any long description could be.

The construction of the sermon is so beautifully clear as to be itself aesthetically satisfying. It begins with a paradox quoted from Seneca, followed by a striking example of the sort of sin described in the text, and the "Divisio," the statement of the order in which the different parts of the text are to be considered. Then comes the main argument. "We forbid no man the use of Reason in matters of Religion," but Reason must not be exalted so high as to stand above God's judgments. Such exaltation is presumptuous; but a worse exaltation of Reason, "high treason against the Majesty of God," is "to find out a reason in him, which should justify our sins." The perverseness of the men mentioned in the text comes "Because God is patient and long-suffering." God is so; but why is his patience made a reason for our continuing in sin? "Is it because there is no sentence denounced against sin?" No, for such sentence is repeatedly given throughout the Bible.

[17] P. 169 of the present volume.

Rather, it is because that sentence is not executed speedily. But God has reasons for postponing punishment, when he does so; and he does not do so always—again and again, in the Scriptures, God's punishment comes immediately for what might seem trivial sins. The beginnings of the execution of God's judgment are speedy—can the sinner wish them more so? But God "intermits again, he slackens his pace." This is the reason that men's hearts are hardened. This is man's perverseness. What, then, is this "setting of the heart upon evil"? Not where one lets sin, or the Devil, into the imagination, but when by habitual custom the sin arises "meerly and immediately from my self"; when, worst of all, the sin becomes based in the sinner's mind upon Reason. May we make a right, not a wrong, use of both God's judgments and his mercies!

Donne's assertion, near the beginning of this sermon, that Religion is based upon Reason as well as Faith, but that God's judgments must always stand above Reason, is the earliest expression in his sermons, and one of the clearest, of an attitude that has interested many students of his thought, and that has been variously interpreted as mystical or nonmystical. L. I. Bredvold, for instance,[18] refers to the idea in developing his conclusion that Donne's religious experience was essentially mystical. W. F. Moloney, on the other hand,[19] while acknowledging that Donne uses mystical phraseology at times, as any poet is likely to do, denies vehemently that his experience was that of a mystic. Much of the difference of opinion—of which Bredvold's and Moloney's are only two out of numerous exemplifications—resolves itself into disagreement over the nature of mysticism. Also, there has not yet been enough careful study of the development and change in Donne's thinking *during* his years as a preacher. The emphasis upon Reason in the present sermon is characteristic of his earlier rather than of his later discourses.

The effectiveness of this sermon is of a strikingly different sort from

[18] *Op. cit.* (see fn. 9 above), pp. 191–232. Bredvold quotes, not from this sermon, but from a similar treatment of the idea in Sermon No. 4, on *Psalms* 55.19: "Whatsoever is true in Philosophy is true in Divinity too: howsoever we distort it and wrest it to the contrary."

[19] *John Donne: His Flight from Mediaevalism,* Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 2–3, University of Illinois Press, 1944.

that of, say, *Deaths Duell* or the famous sermon preached to the Earl of Carlisle. It does not come from the hypnotic power of vast expanded and complex periods or from the subtle rhythm of language within such units, but rather from brief, direct statements, sometimes so brief as to be epigrammatic, with pungency added by the choice of vivid words and the use of striking paradox.

Execution is the life of the Law; but then it is the death of the Man. . . .[20]

Never ask what that hardness of heart is: for, if thou know it not, thou hast it. . . .[21]

There is no such unhappiness to a sinner, as to be happy; no such cross, as to have no crosses.[22] [This paradox is so very close in wording to the line, "No Crosse is so extreme, as to have none," in Donne's poem *The Cross,* that Donne must obviously have been paraphrasing himself, either in the poem or in this sermon. Probably the poem antedates the sermon.]

His reason is not, That there is no Law; he sees it: nor that he knows no Law; his heart tells it him: nor that he hath kept that Law; his Conscience gives judgement against him: nor that he hath a Pardon for breaking that Law; for he never ask'd it . . .[23]

[Concerning St. Augustine's saying, "Audeo dicere utile esse cadere in aliquod manifestum peccatum, ut sibi displiceant"] We may be so much more bold, as to say further, That that man had been damn'd, if he had not sinn'd that sin. . . .

Who can be more miserable then that man, who does not commiserate his own misery?[24]

Other sermons of Donne's are more memorable as wholes than this; but few if any contain more easily quotable brief passages.

Between Sermons Nos. 2 and 3 there is a gap of more than eleven months. In those months Donne had learned many things about his profession, and had won both a wide reputation and an adequate income. In the spring of 1616 he was given the living of Keyston, a small parish in Huntingdonshire, and in July of that year, the rectorship of Sevenoaks in Kent.[25] (The practice of holding several livings, so bit-

[20] P. 173 of the present volume.

[21] P. 181.

[22] P. 168.

[23] P. 173.

[24] Pp. 180, 181.

[25] A curious story, connected with "the first living he [Donne] ever had," was included in *The Memoirs of Mrs. Letitia Pilkington* (1748–1754) as a tale related by Swift about Donne. The story concerns a clergy-

terly criticized later in the history of the Church of England, was very little questioned in Donne's day. Donne's conscience certainly never troubled him in this matter, and there was no reason at the time why it should have. He held Keyston till he was forced by a legal decision to give it up in 1622, and held Sevenoaks through all the rest of his life.) On October 24, 1616, he received a much more important appointment. He was elected Reader in Divinity to the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, and thereafter for six years preached regularly and often to the intelligent and highly critical congregations of lawyers and students that gathered in the chapel of that venerable institution. It is possible that some of the undated sermons we possess that are stated to have been preached at Lincoln's Inn come from the months between April, 1616, and March, 1617; but since we cannot be certain, and those sermons are hence included later in the present edition, a full consideration of Donne's activity in this important and exacting post will be given in another volume.

Sermon No. 3.—On the composition and delivery of Sermon No. 3, and on its reception by those who heard it, we have specific information and testimony. For only a very few of the sermons do we have this sort of information. It was Donne's first appearance at Paul's Cross, the outdoor pulpit, next to St. Paul's Cathedral, which had been the scene of so many famous discourses and so much popular turmoil during the preceding four hundred years and more of its existence.[26] He preached there, presumably by royal command, on March 24, 1617,[27] the "King's day," that is, the anniversary of James's accession to the throne. He took as his text *Proverbs* 22.11: "He that loveth Pureness of Heart, for the grace of his Lips, the King shall be his friend." James himself had left, a little more than a week earlier, on his trip to

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man's detective work in uncovering a murder and discovering the murderess. It was resurrected briefly in the nineteenth century and proved to have no actual connection with Donne at all. See *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1841, p. 156; also *Notes and Queries* (London), Second Series, V, 68–69 (Jan. 23, 1858), VI, 18 (July 3, 1858), and VI, 217 (Sept. 11, 1858). For these references we are indebted to Miss Margo Skinner.

[26] The earliest record of an address delivered at Paul's Cross is of one given by William Fitz Osbert in 1191; but the spot was a recognized public meetingplace long even before that.

[27] I.e., 1616/1617.

Scotland. Donne spoke, nevertheless, to an audience that included many distinguished men. From the heading, plus a significant clause in the sermon itself—"I speak not this to your selves, you Senators of London,"[28]—it is obvious that at least some of the aldermen and councilmen of the City were present, probably in a body; and we know, from that invaluable source of information regarding these years, John Chamberlain's letters to Dudley Carleton, of the presence of several other nobles and dignitaries. Chamberlain's account of the occasion well deserves quoting in full:

> I had almost forgotten, that on Monday the 24th of this moneth, beeing the King's day, the archbishop of Caunterburie, the Lord Keper, Lord Privie-seale, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Southampton, the Lord Hayes, the controller, Secretarie Winwod, the Master of the Rolles,[29] with divers other great men, were at Paules Crosse, and heard Dr. Donne who made there a daintie sermon, upon the eleventh verse of the 22th of Proverbes; and was excedingly well liked generally, the rather for that he did Quene Elizabeth great right, and held himself close to the text without flattering the time too much.[30]

The epithet "dainty," while appropriate enough in its usual seventeenth-century sense of "choice" or "valuable," seems to the twentieth-century reader a bit incongruous for characterizing a discourse that, if given in the form in which it was published in *XXVI Sermons,* must have lasted about two hours and a half.[31] Whether Donne actually took that amount of time to deliver it is not certain. John Sparrow pointed out some years ago[32] that according to the rules drawn up by Laud

[28] P. 208 of the present volume.

[29] Sir Julius Caesar, one of Donne's personal friends.

[30] Letter dated March 29, 1617. Chamberlain's letters have been printed several times. A familiar printing is in Thomas Birch's *The Court and Times of James the First* (1849). A more recent, complete edition, edited by Norman E. McClure, was published in 1939 by the American Philosophical Society, of Philadelphia.

[31] Gosse had the curiosity to time the sermon by reading it aloud—a process which, probably, few readers will care to repeat in full—and says, "It will be found that to deliver it in an ordinary tone of voice will occupy not less than two hours and forty minutes." Our estimate, based on fairly slow oral reading of a few pages, checks approximately with that of Gosse.

[32] "John Donne and Contemporary Preachers," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association,* XVI (for 1930), 144 ff.

when Bishop of London some years later than this, in 1629, for sermons at Paul's Cross, the time limit was set at an hour and a half, and the preacher was required to bring "a Copy" of the sermon with him. Many speakers have, nevertheless, in all ages—including our own—been prone to exceed time limits given to them, and are not always easy to stop. Donne may have preached over the limit; or the rules that applied in 1629 may not have existed in 1617; or Donne may in speaking have abridged somewhat the sermon as he wrote it. For that matter, he may have revised and enlarged the original sermon, later in his life; but this last possibility seems least likely, for the sermon as we have it cries out for compression, and it is difficult to imagine a man as judicious as Donne looking over the work in his later years and *expanding* it unnecessarily. Whether he wrote out the sermon in full before preaching it or after is, again, not certain, since Laud's rules were still in the future; but he must have done so close to the time of its delivery, for presumably he would have been careful to have a copy for James's perusal if one should be required.

Chamberlain's testimony that the sermon was "exceedingly well liked generally" is to be taken seriously, as something more than a courteous gesture; for he mentions in his letters to Carleton several other sermons at Paul's Cross, and is severely critical of them. Carleton himself was impressed enough by his friend's praise to ask how he might obtain a copy. "I know not," says Chamberlain to him in a letter of May 10, 1617, "how to procure a copie of Dr. Donnes sermon yf yt come not in print, but I will inquire after yt."

A reader can readily perceive why those gathered about Paul's Cross approved of the sermon, in the ways Chamberlain specifies. Donne does "flatter the time," surely, in the last part of his discourse, but not "too much," when one considers how much more flattering are many sermons by other preachers of the time. He is diplomatic and discreet; his praise of Queen Elizabeth seems sincerely felt and yet is adapted with thoroughly good taste to a celebration of her successor's ascent to the throne. He does keep close to his text—that his hearers approved of his doing so is a significant comment on the preferences of seventeenth-century congregations,—and only after exhausting the direct applicability of that text to God's love for man does he turn to apply it more briefly to the King of England's love for his subjects. He makes

other points, too, that his distinguished audience must have liked to hear. One can easily imagine most of them nodding their heads with approval at his attacks upon the Roman church and the Puritans; even though these are more ingenious than convincing—his harsh criticism of Philip Neri, for example, seems gratuitous and unperceptive, clever though it is. Surely Donne must have had more sympathy for Neri's passionate and wholly human cry of ecstatic agony than he permits himself to show here.

The sermon appears to a reader as, in fact, planned rather too deliberately for the occasion. It is, at least, less moving than many another shorter discourse of his—far less so than Sermon No. 2, with its sharp analysis of human sin. The structure is rather loose, the specific arguments are often unconvincing, and such sections as that concerning "little sins" and that concerning St. Jerome's friendship with Paula are elaborated beyond clarity into dullness. In the course of the preceding year Donne had learned diplomacy, the art of pleasing a congregation by giving what most members of it would like to hear. Sermon No. 3 is not by any means as good a sermon as No. 2; but it was probably much better liked by those who heard it preached. Perhaps Donne received from friends or others cricitisms of Sermon No. 2, which brought him to the realization that in it he had not met his audience halfway, and that some compromise was desirable, even necessary, if he was to reach the minds and hearts of his hearers over any extended period of time. He gradually learned to adapt sermons to occasions and audiences *without* sacrificing either sincerity or force; but he did not learn this art in a month, or even a year, and was only beginning to study it by March, 1617.

Several ideas that Donne was to use effectively in later discourses appear for the first time in this sermon on *Proverbs*. One is that after hearty repentance, accepted by God, a person ought to forget his past sins and not keep tormenting himself with them. It was a comfort he gave to his hearers as well as a duty he urged upon them; and it was a sane and healthy truth of which he probably had to keep reminding himself, when bitterly recalling his own past and present shortcomings. Again, his thoughts about human love had developed through many years, and were to keep on developing as he spoke of the matter in sermon after sermon. Nowhere in either his verse or his prose does

he give a better description of the nature of human love at its best than in the following passage:

> Love is so noble, so soveraign an Affection, as that it is due to very few things, and very few things worthy of it. Love is a Possessory Affection, it delivers over him that loves into the possession of that that he loves; it is a transmutatory Affection, it changes him that loves, into the very nature of that that he loves, and he is nothing else.[33]

Such a passage as the following, too, expresses an idea that he had brooded upon for years:

> Hath God made this World his Theatre, *ut exhibeatur ludus deorum,* that man may represent God in his conversation; and wilt thou play no part? But think that thou only wast made to pass thy time merrily, and to be the only spectator upon this Theatre? Is the world a great and harmonious Organ, where all parts are play'd, and all play parts; and must thou only sit idle and hear it? Is every body else made to be a *Member,* and to do some real office for the sustentation of this great Body, this World; and wilt thou only be no member of this Body? Thinkest thou that thou wast made to be *Cos Amoris,* a Mole in the Face for Ornament, a Man of delight in the World?[34]

A more intimately personal expression of this idea, that has been quoted again and again by Donne's biographers and critics, is in his letter to Sir Henry Goodyer written some nine years[35] earlier, when he was in deep depression of mind:

> I would fain do something, but that I cannot tell what is no wonder. For to choose is to do; but to be no part of any body is to be nothing. At most, the greatest persons are but great wens and excrescences; men of wit and delightful conversation but as moles for ornament, except they be so incorporated into the body of the world that they contribute something to the sustentation of the whole.
>
> This I made account that I begun early, when I understood the study of our laws; but was diverted by the worst voluptuousness, which is an hydroptic, immoderate desire of human learning and languages—beautiful ornaments to great fortunes; but mine needed an occupation. . . .

The depression of former years had now disappeared; Donne was finally a "part of a body," of the consecrated body of the clergy. He had

[33] Pp. 184–185 of the present volume.

[34] Pp. 207–208.

[35] Nine years, if one accepts Gosse's conjectural dating of this letter, 1608.

not, however, forgotten what he had learned in his dark musings, and hoped to help others avoid the swamp into which he had himself fallen.

Of the many occasions on which Donne preached between March and November, 1617, we have, besides the general record of his regular preaching at Lincoln's Inn, specific record of two. The date of one was July 27, when Donne preached twice in the parish church at Sevenoaks, of which he was rector, and was entertained at Knole, then the country residence of Richard Sackville, third Earl of Dorset, and his wife. Dorset is mentioned in the biographies of Donne as one of his friends and patrons during this period. It was he who gave Donne the reversion of the Vicarage of St. Dunstans, a position into which Donne finally entered only a month before his patron's death. His wife was also one of Donne's friends, and is worth more attention than she has yet received from students of Donne's later life. She was Lady Anne Clifford, who was of the Russell family on her mother's side, married Richard Sackville in 1608, six years after his death in 1624 became the second wife of Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, and survived her second husband by many years, in her old age ruling over the large Clifford estates in the north of England and dying late in her eighties in the year 1676. She was, as a young woman, one of the Queen's personal friends; was a friend too of Lucy Countess of Bedford, who was related to her by marriage, and of Susan de Vere the first wife of the same Earl of Montgomery whom Anne herself later married. Both the Countess of Bedford and the first Countess of Montgomery are well known to have befriended Donne. Anne Clifford, too, was a generous patroness of numerous writers and men of affairs; and she certainly, in the years after 1615, came to like and admire Donne as a preacher. She was of a religious and studious temperament; and besides entertaining him as a guest at Knole, she kept his published poetry and sermons throughout her life as a notable part of her library. Since she similarly in later years prized George Herbert's poetry, and probably was responsible for Herbert's being given the living of Bemerton, she appears linked with another family related by long friendship to Donne. On his side, Donne seems to have admired Lady Anne, and on some occasion to have commented "that

she knew well how to discourse of all things, from predestination to slea-silk."[38]

The other occasion on which Donne is said to have preached between March and November, 1617, was shortly after the sad event of

[38] The evidence for the foregoing statements about Lady Anne is probably best included in this single footnote.

On the date of Donne's sermon at Knole see her Diary for July, 1617. The relevant passage is printed in both *The Diary of Lady Anne Clifford,* London, 1923, and *Lives of Lady Anne Clifford ... and of her Parents Summarised by Herself,* published by the Roxburghe Club, 1916. "The 20th ... The same night Dr. Donne came hither ... The 27th I went to Church (being Sunday) forenoon and afternoon, Dr. *Donne* preaching and he and other strangers dining with me in the great Chamber." "Church" must mean the neighboring parish church of Sevenoaks; when Lady Anne worshiped in Knole chapel, she does not in her diary say that she "went to Church." The phrase "with me" clearly implies that the Earl was not present on this occasion.

On the biographical details of Lady Anne's life, her two marriages, and her activities at court, see the editions of her Diary, and George C. Williamson's *Lady Anne Clifford,* Kendal, 1922.

The evidence for her prizing Donne's and Herbert's poetry and Donne's sermons is contained in what is known as "the Great Picture" at Appleby, principal residence of Lady Anne in her later years. The whole picture is said by Williamson to be 8 by 3 feet in size. One of the three parts of this picture is a portrait of Anne as Countess Dowager of Pembroke and Montgomery, painted against a background which includes a number of volumes from her library, evidently books of which she was especially fond, or proud. Among these are Donne's Poems, Herbert's Poems, and a folio plus two quartos of Donne's sermons. (See George C. Williamson, *op. cit.*)

The remark about Lady Anne's conversational abilities was quoted and attributed to Donne by Edward Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle, in the sermon that he preached at her funeral: "She could discourse with Virtuoso's, Travellers, Scholars, Merchants, Divines, Statesmen, and with Good Housewives in any kind.—Insomuch that a Prime and Elegant Wit, well seen in all humane Learning, and afterwards devoted to the study of Divinity (by the encouragement and command of a Learned King, and a rare Proficient in it) is reported to have said of this Lady, in her younger years, to this Effect; That she knew well how to discourse of all things, from Predestination to Slea-silk...." The obvious identification of the "Prime and Elegant Wit" with Donne is pointed out by a footnote, in the 1677 publication of Rainbow's sermon.

For much of this factual material about Lady Anne, we are indebted to the initiative and industry of Miss Margo Skinner.

this year that radically changed his manner of living and his attitude toward his personal life; that is, the death of his wife Anne, on August 15, 1617. Izaak Walton records, in his vivid fashion, the fact that Donne delivered a sermon inspired by his feelings at her death:

> His first motion from his house, was to preach where his beloved wife lay buried,—in St. Clement's Church, near Temple Bar, London,—and his text was a part of the Prophet Jeremy's Lamentation: "Lo, I am the Man that have seen affliction."
>
> And indeed his very words and looks testified him to be truly such a man; and they, with the addition of his sighs and tears, expressed in his Sermon, did so work upon the affections of his hearers, as melted and moulded them into a companionable sadness: and so they left the congregation; but then their houses presented them with objects of diversion, and his presented him with nothing but fresh objects of sorrow, in beholding many helpless children, a narrow fortune, and a consideration of the many cares and casualties that attend their education.

Jessopp and Gosse pointed out long ago that the extant sermon on *Lamentations* 3.1 is stated in *Fifty Sermons* to have been preached at St. Dunstans—therefore after 1623—and that it does not at all correspond to the sort of sermon Walton described. Jessopp calls Walton's story "a fable"; but surely this is an extreme conclusion. Some sermon preached shortly after his wife's death must have impressed Donne's hearers; and there is nothing unlikely in the supposition that he preached two different sermons on the same text.[37] Walton's story probably has at least a rough correspondence to the facts.

Sermon No. 4.—Sermon No. 4 is on the same subject as Sermon No. 2, though it is on another Scriptural text and was delivered more than a year and a half later. According to the heading in *XXVI Sermons,* Donne preached Sermon No. 4 at Whitehall, on November 2, 1617. The text is *Psalms* 55.19: "Because they have no changes, therefore they fear not God." So closely related are the two sermons that a reader wonders why Donne preached both at the same place, even at so considerable an interval. (A suspicion may arise, even, that the information given in the heading for No. 2, in *XXVI Sermons,* is not reliable; but since we have no better information, the suspicion must remain merely tentative.) Both are concerned with what Donne calls

[37] It is worth noting that Donne was enough attracted to the Book of *Lamentations* to have versified it. See his "Divine Poems."

sinning "upon reasons," or "upon Reason," and even the particular "reasons" specified in the two texts are essentially alike, since the text of No. 2, from *Ecclesiastes,* ascribes the sinning to the fact that God delays punishment, and the text of No. 4 suggests the same idea, of nothing happening to shock the sinner into repentance.

Similar as the two are in subject, they are nevertheless strikingly different in structure and in the development of the thought. If it were not for this fact, Sermon No. 4 could be dismissed as simply a sequel to No. 2, less impressive than the earlier discourse. But the differences are most significant, and confirm some of the comments that have just been made concerning Sermon No. 3. Sermon No. 2 makes no reference whatever, direct or indirect, to the court; No. 4 is from its very beginning openly addressed to the audience gathered at Whitehall. No. 2 is an almost bleakly objective analysis of sin; No. 4 is personal, a direct appeal from the preacher, who feels himself to be a member of the court circle, to his fellow courtiers. No. 2 keeps closely to its text; No. 4 brings in more than one compliment to King James, attacks the Roman church (in a passage which is obviously irrelevant to the subject, though Donne makes an ingenious attempt to connect it with his main course of thought), and includes occasional discussions of scholastic reasoning, and of the meaning of Hebrew words, that would attract the pedantic James (who may or may not have been present) and would reassure the courtiers concerning the Doctor's learning. The structure of No. 2 is beautifully clear and logical, and the end is both succinct and directly on the point; the structure of No. 4 is loose, and its ending notably ineffective. Donne was, in short, at the time he preached No. 4, still working toward a *rapport* with his audiences that would make them receptive to the doctrine he was expounding, and would incidentally win him approval. That to win the approval of James's court a preacher had to be cautious is plain from the reception accorded to John King a few months later. Chamberlain describes the episode thus: "The bishop of London preached at court, and they say spake home and was very plaine in many points, which as yt seemed was nothing pleasing, the rather for that he was a full halfe howre too long."[38] Some of Donne's Lincoln's Inn sermons show him trying to adapt his discourses to another very different group of listeners. It

[38] Letter from Chamberlain to Carleton, March 27, 1618.

may well be that earlier in his career Donne composed more than one sermon like No. 2, that he struck a vein of power within himself, but came soon to realize that such power was not enough, that merely to scatter the seeds of doctrine on hard and stony ground might well be futile, and that his hearers' hearts had to be as it were plowed and softened if the good seed were to germinate and grow there. At least it is certain that Sermons Nos. 3 and 4 are in some sense transitional, that in them he comes in closer touch with his congregation than he does in No. 2, but has not yet achieved full mastery of this new approach.

In Sermon No. 4, as in No. 3, ideas appear for the first time that Donne was to echo in later sermons, sometimes again and again. Especially notable is the idea of the two deaths, bodily and spiritual, which he often elaborated later. Here it appears in a comparatively simple form:

> All men must die once; we live all under that Law. But *statutum nemini bis mori:* since the promise of a Messiah, there is no Law, no Decree, by which any man must necessarily die twice; a Temporal death, and a Spiritual death too. It is not the Man, but the Sinner, that dies the second death.[39]

Another sequence of thought that is often repeated later is that concerning Christ's words in his suffering:

> For, without this fear [the fear of the Lord], there is no courage, no confidence, no assurance: and therefore Christ begun his Passion with a fear, in his Agony, *Tristis anima,* My soul is heavie; but that fear delivered him over to a present conformity to the will of God, in his *Veruntamen, Yet not my will, but thine be done:* And he ended his Passion with a fear, *Eli, Eli, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* and that fear deliver'd him over to a present assurance, *In manus tuas Domine,* confidently to commend his spirit into his hands, whom he seem'd to be afraid of.[40]

Still another group of ideas to which Donne returned frequently, especially in the sermons of the next five or six years, is that connected with the Scriptural names for God, with their etymologies and meanings. In this sermon, he introduces the topic awkwardly enough, at the very end—a position which it holds also in at least one other sermon, that on *Psalms* 38.9.

[39] P. 232 of the present volume.

[40] P. 233 of the present volume.

Sermon No. 5.—Sermon No. 5 was preached a month later than Sermon No. 4: "To Queen Anne, at Denmarke-house, December 14, 1617," according to its heading in *XXVI Sermons*. Its text is *Proverbs* 8.17: "I love them that love me, and they that seek me early shall find me." Reading it is both a pleasant and a deeply moving experience. For sheer eloquence and appeal to a reader's feelings it is decidedly the best of these earliest sermons. It is a sermon on human and divine love, and hence by age-old convention was particularly well adapted to a congregation that included a queen and many of her feminine attendants, though Donne does not direct his remarks to them specifically or personally. Also there unquestionably hovers over it the shadow of that other Anne, Donne's wife, whom he had lost four months earlier, though again she is not mentioned. Donne speaks of mankind, and not directly of himself, yet it is significant that his thoughts on sexual love are from a masculine rather than a feminine approach, and concern man's desire for woman rather than woman's for man.

His treatment of love between man and woman is not, to be sure, sentimental or even romantic. The many readers of Donne's verse who have come wholeheartedly to admire and approve of his beautiful poems *The Extasie* and *A Valediction forbidding Mourning* are likely to be disappointed with the passages in this sermon that touch upon the subject—and, for that matter, with many other similar passages throughout the whole body of Donne's sermons. Donne's thoughts concerning the love of man for God and of God toward man grew constantly more penetrating during the last fifteen years of his life; but his Augustinian attitude toward sexual indulgence, and his essentially Neoplatonic belief that to rise to the love of God one must leave behind the love of "creatures," seem to have led him away from the perception, so clearly apparent in the two poems, of what Robert Browning once called "the value and significance of flesh." Nevertheless, love in its infinite variety of manifestations was a subject about which Donne had thought and written ever since his early youth, coming to quite different conclusions at different times. He always has something both interesting and moving to say on the subject. In Sermon No. 5 are ideas that echo those in one or another of his earlier

poems, and also ideas that spring from his later thinking, that reflect the mood of his "Holy Sonnet" No. 17:

> Since she whom I lov'd hath payd her last debt
> To Nature, and to hers, and my good is dead,
> And her Soule early into heaven ravished,
> Wholly on heavenly things my mind is sett.
> Here the admyring her my mind did whett
> To seeke thee God; so streames do shew their head;
> But though I have found thee, and thou my thirst hath fed,
> A holy thirsty dropsy melts mee yett.
> But why should I begg more Love, when as thou
> Dost wooe my soule for hers; offring all thine:
> And dost not only feare least I allow
> My Love to Saints and Angels things divine,
> But in thy tender jealosy dost doubt
> Least the World, Fleshe, yea Devill putt thee out.

The definition of love which he gives in Sermon No. 5 differs somewhat from the one in Sermon No. 3,[41] and is cited not as his own but as "the definition of the Schools," but is nevertheless worth quoting: "*Amare est velle alicui quod bonum est,* love is nothing but a desire, that they whom we love should be happy."[42]

The first few paragraphs of the sermon develop an idea so striking and thought-provoking that portions of them have been quoted many times by his biographers and by anthologists. He makes no mention of himself in his exposition of the idea, but no one can read the paragraphs without feeling their autobiographical implications:

> As the Prophets, and the other Secretaries of the holy Ghost in penning the books of Scriptures, do for the most part retain, and express in their writings some impressions, and some air of their former professions; those that had been bred in Courts and Cities, those that had been Shepheards and Heardsmen, those that had been Fishers, and so of the rest; ever inserting into their writings some phrases, some metaphors, some allusions, taken from that profession which they had exercised before; so that soul, that hath been transported upon any particular worldly pleasure, when it is intirely turn'd upon God, and the contemplation of his all-sufficiency and abundance, doth find in God fit subject, and just occasion to exercise the same affection piously, and religiously, which had before so sinfully transported, and possest it.

[41] See *ante,* p. 128.

[42] P. 241 of the present volume.

A covetous person, who is now truly converted to God, he will exercise a spiritual covetousness still, he will desire to have him all, he will have good security, the seal and assurance of the holy Ghost....

So will a voluptuous man, who is turned to God, find plenty and deliciousnes enough in him, to feed his soul, as with marrow, and with fatness, as *David* expresses it; and so an angry and passionate man, will find zeal enough in the house of God to eat him up....

And according to this Rule too, *Salomon,* whose disposition was amorous, and excessive in the love of women, when he turn'd to God, he departed not utterly from his old phrase and language, but having put a new, and a spiritual tincture, and form and habit in all his thoughts, and words, he conveyes all his loving approaches and applications to God, and all Gods gracious answers to his amorous soul, into songs, and Epithalamions, and meditations upon contracts, and marriages between God and his Church, and between God and his soul; as we see so evidently in all his other writings, and particularly in this text, *I love them,* etc.

Later in the sermon comes a sentence that echoes the bitterly disillusioned lines of his *Love's Alchemy,* though the context is sharply different:

> —And as no chymique yet th'Elixar got,
> But glorifies his pregnant pot,
> If by the way to him befall
> Some odoriferous thing, or medicinall,
> So, lovers dreame a rich and long delight,
> But get a winter-seeming summer's night.

All the sunshine, all the glory of this life, though all these be testimonies of Gods love to us, yet all these bring but a winters day, a short day, and a cold day, and a dark day, for except we love too, God doth not love with an everlasting love: God will not suffer his love to be idle, and since it profits him nothing, if it profits us nothing neither, he will withdraw it.[43]

Another passage, contrasting the profane tears and sighs of erotic passion with the holy tears and sighs of true repentance, recalls to a reader's mind many a line in many an early poem of Donne's:

When thou hast had Christ offered to thee, by the motions of his grace, and seal'd to thee by his Sacraments, and yet wilt cast him so far from thee, that thou knowest not where to find him, when thou hast poured him out at thine eyes in prophane and counterfeit tears, which should be thy souls rebaptization for thy sins, when thou hast blown him away in corrupt and ill intended sighs, which should be *gemitus columbae,* the voice of the

[43] P. 244 of the present volume.

Turtle, to sound thy peace and reconciliation with thy God.... the *Abjecerunt* is desperate, when thou thy self doest cast him away."[44]

Whether from the surge of his own strong feelings roused by his wife's death, or from his discovery that emotional appeal has to be added to logical exposition if the members of a congregation are to be moved in their hearts—very probably from both causes together,—there appear in this sermon, for the first time, some of the chief qualities for which Donne's sermons are famous: the sonorous harmonies of sound, comparisons instinct with poetry, and long, arboriform sentences that make a reader gasp for breath as he follows the complex evolutions and involutions of ideas pouring from a rich and vehemently active mind—

The circumstance only requir'd here, is that he be sought early; and to invite thee to it, consider how early he sought thee; It is a great mercy that he staies so long for thee; It was more to seek thee so early: Dost thou not feele that he seeks thee now, in offering his love and desiring thine? Canst not thou remember that he sought thee yesterday, that is, that some tentations besieged thee then, and he sought thee out by his Grace, and preserved thee? and hath he not sought thee so, so early, as from the beginning of thy life? nay, dost thou not remember that after thou hadst committed that sin, he sought thee by imprinting some remorse, some apprehension of his judgments, and so *miro et divino modo, et quando te oderat diligebat,* by a miraculous and powerful working of his Spirit, he threatned thee, when he comforted thee, he lov'd thee when he chid thee, he sought thee when he drove thee from him? He hath sought thee amongst the infinite numbers of false and fashionall Christians, that he might bring thee out from the hypocrite, to serve him in earnest, and in holyness, and in righteousness; he sought thee before that amongst the Herd of the nations and Gentiles, who had no Church, to bring thee into his inclosures and pastures, his visible Church, and to feed thee with his word and sacraments; he sought thee before that, in the catalogue of all his Creatures, where he might have left thee a stone, or a plant, or a beast; and then he gave thee an immortal Soul, capable of all his future blessings; yea, before this he sought thee, when thou wast no where, nothing, he brought thee then, the greatest step of all, from being nothing, to be a Creature; how early did he seek thee, when he sought thee in *Adam's* confused loynes, and out of that leavened and sowre loaf in which we were all kneaded up, out of that *massa damnata,* that refuse and condemnable lump of dough, he sought and sever'd out that grain which thou shouldst be; yea millions of millions

[44] P. 245 of the present volume.

of generations before all this he sought thee in his own eternal Decree; And in that first Scripture of his, which is as old as himself, in the book of life he wrote thy name in the blood of the Lamb which was slain for thee, not only from the beginning of this world, but from the writing of that eternal Decree of thy Salvation.[45]

Passages like the one just quoted have the freshness and zest of a new discovery. Donne has found himself in the pulpit; he is mastering the literary medium he adopted so late in life; and a great artist in prose has emerged from his two-year period of experimentation and uncertainty. Since he was only human, and since his profession required him to compose and deliver sermon after sermon whether or not he was in a creative mood, he was inevitably not always at his best, and the sermons continue to vary a good deal in appeal and in artistic excellence. But he had found gold in the mine of his consciousness. Its yield varied from week to week, but the vein was rich and was never exhausted before his death.

Sermon No. 6.—Sermon No. 6 is less interesting than Sermon No. 5, from which it is separated by some two and a half months. It was preached at Whitehall, near the beginning of Lent, on February 20, 1617/1618. The King was not present, we learn from a letter that Chamberlain wrote to Carleton on February 21: "Dr. John Dunne preached yesterday at Whitehall, but the King was not there, beeing wearie belike of the former nights watching."[46]

The sermon urges upon its hearers the practice of meditation proper to the Lenten season; but it is itself not so much a meditation as a learned, analytical, and sometimes very ingenious examination of its text, *Luke* 23.40, the words of one of the two thieves crucified with Christ: "Fearest not thou God, being under the same condemnation?" References to the Fathers are very numerous—there are eight to Augustine, three to Ambrose, two apiece to Jerome, Chrysostom, and Origen, and single references to Athanasius, Hilary, Theophylact,[47]

[45] Pp. 248–249 of the present volume.

[46] The King's previous night's "watching" was in attendance upon a performance of *The Masque of Mountebanks* (perhaps written by John Marston) by "the gentlemen of Gray's Inn."

[47] Theophylact can hardly be said to have good standing as a Church Father; but since Donne cites his opinion along with the opinions of several recognized patristic authorities, he is included in the list above.

Cyprian, Gregory the Great, Basil, and Bernard, all in a sermon of about an hour's length. There is an attack on Roman Catholicism of the sort usual in the sermons delivered at Whitehall during this period of Donne's career; and somewhat more than the usual number of antagonistic references to the Puritans.[48] One of these last, a caveat against the Puritans' preference for extempore preaching (a topic to which Donne reverts several times, in various other sermons), is useful as evidence for Donne's own practice in the preparation of sermons:

> —We have here one example of an extemporal Sermon; This Thief had premeditated nothing. But he is no more a precedent for extemporal preaching, then he is for stealing. He was a Thief before, and he was an extemporal preacher at last: But he teaches no body else to be either.[49]

Another passage, directed against one of the endless arguments among some of the more fanatical Puritans, contains shrewd appraisals of human nature:

> Whether this grace, which God presents so, be resistible or no, whether man be not perverse enough to resist this grace, why should any perverse or ungracious man dispute? Hath any man felt a tentation so strong upon himself, but that he could have given another man reason enough to have kept him from yeilding to that tentation? Hath any man felt the grace of God work so upon him at any time, as that he hath concurred fully, intirely with that grace, without any resistance, any slackness? New fashions in men, make us doubt new manners; and new terms in Divinity were ever suspicious in the Church of God, that new Doctrines were hid under them. *Resistibility,* and *Irresistibility* of grace, which is every Artificers wearing now, was a stuff that our Fathers wore not, a language that pure antiquity spake not.[50]

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[48] This slightly greater stress against puritan notions might possibly have some connection with the curious and evidently short-lived popularity of a certain Thrash, who (according to a letter of Chamberlain's dated February 14, 1618) "was first a puritan, then a separatist, and now is become a Jewish Christian, observing the Sabath on Saterday, abstaining from swines-flesh and all things commaunded in the law," who won a considerable following in London and elsewhere, who was imprisoned, and whose opinions (according to a letter of Nathaniel Brent's to Carleton, two weeks later) "made his Majesty exceeding merrie on Sunday at dinner, and were almost the sole subject of his discourse."

[49] P. 260 of the present volume.

[50] P. 255 of the present volume.

One or two other parts of the sermon are well worth a reader's full attention. Its very first sentences are ingeniously arresting:

> The text it self is a Christning-Sermon, and a Funeral-Sermon, and a Sermon at a Consecration, and a Sermon at the Canonization of himself that makes it. This Thief, whose words they are, is Baptized in his blood; there's his Christning: He dyes in that profession; there's his Funeral: His Diocess is his Cross, and he takes care of his soul, who is crucified with him, and to him he is a Bishop; there's his Consecration: and he is translated to heaven; there's his Canonization.

Again, there is a brief but superbly vivid paragraph on St. Paul's conversion:

> The first thing then is, the powerfulness and the dispatch of the grace of God in the conversion of them, who are ordained unto it. In *Judas,* the Devil entred into him when Christ gave him the Sop; but the Devil had put the treason in his heart before. The tentation had an Inchoation, and it had a Meditation, and it had a Consummation. In Saint *Paul,* in his conversion, God wrought upon him all at once, without any discontinuance; He took him at as much disadvantage for grace to work upon, as could be; breathing threatnings and slaughters against the disciples, and provided with Commissions for that persecution. But suddainly there came a light, and suddainly a stroke that humbled him, and suddainly a voice, and suddainly a hand that led him to *Damascus.* After God had laid hold upon him, he never gave him over, till he had accomplished his purpose in him.[51]

In later years this came to be a subject dear to Donne's heart. He once said that his favorite reading in the Old Testament was the Psalms, and in the New, Paul's Epistles.[52] In his years as Dean, when he adopted the practice of preaching himself in the cathedral at the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, he did so not only because the cathedral was dedicated to Paul, but also because of his own preference. Perhaps he felt a special sympathy with St. Paul, as he certainly did with St. Augustine, because of his own earlier unregenerate years and his own struggles against the desires of the flesh.

It is interesting, also, to notice the appearance of the idea that every sinner is a murderer of himself, and of speculation concerning the Scriptural names for God, two topics which Donne had already

[51] P. 255 of the present volume.

[52] Sermon on *Psalms* 38.2, preached at Lincoln's Inn. See Vol. II of the present edition.

touched upon in one or another previous sermon and to which he was later to revert more than once.[53] Of all the sermons in the present volume, this is the most full of ideas that Donne used often, as his career continued.

He did not, however, in this Lenten "meditation" achieve the rich eloquence of his previous sermon preached at Denmark House. In it is little gold, and a good deal of quartz and gravel.

Sermon No. 7.—Sermon No. 7 needs little detailed comment. It is the least eloquent and effective sermon of the nine in the present volume. Donne preached it at Whitehall on April 12, 1618; we do not know whether the King was in attendance, though he was at least in town at the time. The text is most curious; it is part of the story of Jacob, *Genesis* 32.10: "I am not worthy of the least of all thy mercies, and of all the truth which thou hast shewed unto thy servant; for with my staff I passed over this *Jordan,* and now I am become two bands." Donne's unusual choice of text is probably the most interesting point about the sermon. The facts that "Jacob" and "Jacobus," i.e., James, are closely similar as names, and that "two bands" might easily be applied to the two nations, England and Scotland, which James united on acceding to the throne of England, are obvious enough to make one wonder whether Donne may have had such an application in mind when he chose it. If, however, there be any political implication beneath Donne's exposition of the text, it is buried so deep as to be invisible to the naked eye. There is, in fact, no perceptible evidence that he had any purpose other than that of expounding his text in the traditional manner, literally, morally, and "typically"—that is, with reference to its literal meaning in connection with Jacob's career, with reference to the morals possible to draw from it to instruct men, and with reference to its foreshadowing of Christ's life and mission. It is characteristic of the earlier sermons at Whitehall in that Donne includes brief attacks on the Roman church and the Puritans. One passage is interesting for its explicit statement of a point of view—taken for granted at the time, but irritating to a democratically-minded reader—that partly accounts for the sycophantic tone in many of Donne's own letters to members of the nobility: "In benefits that pass from men of higher ranck, to persons of lower condition, it is not the

[53] Pp. 257, 261–262 of the present volume.

way to get them, to ground the request upon our own merit; Merit implies an obligation, that we have laid upon them; and that implies a debt. And a Petition for a due debt is an affront."[54] Another passage displays an interesting perception into the vagaries of human nature, this time its incredible optimism in the face of extreme odds, just as apparent in lotteries of the 1950's as it was in those of 1618: "In Lotteries, though the odds be great on the other side, every man hopes, he that is never so far off in a remainder for land, would be loth to have his name expunged, and raced out."[55] But for the most part the sermon is a not particularly ingenious exegesis, a solemn exposition of Jacob's "banishment" and return, with a conventional unhumorous defense of Jacob's piety and virtue—carried to the point of making his journey a "type" of the Christ-child's stay in Egypt—that is irritating and even repugnant to many present-day Bible-readers, and a number of moral applications, some of which are rather quaint, but none of which is lighted with the fire and brilliance of Donne at his best. It would seem that Donne in planning his sermon for this occasion hit upon what seemed a good way of attracting the attention of his auditors, that of bringing out the interest and significance in a strange and seemingly unpromising text, but that his inspiration failed him and he either did not sense its temporary failure or had no time to start all over again.

Sermons Nos. 8 and 9.—It is a relief to turn from a comparatively uninteresting sermon like No. 7 to the two sermons on *I Timothy* 1.15, Sermons Nos. 8 and 9. Both are impressive discourses; and the second of the two is superb.

The dating of these sermons, and the relating of the first to the second, present questions. As to the dates, question arises because of the fact that while all copies of *XXVI Sermons* agree in giving for the first sermon the date April 19, 1618, some copies of that edition give the same date in the heading for the second, while other copies give a quite different date, April 2, 1621.[56] Were the two sermons preached on

[54] P. 270 of the present volume.

[55] P. 276 of the present volume.

[56] Copies giving the date April 19, 1618, are in the Library of Lincoln's Inn, Dr. Williams's library, and the libraries of Harvard, the University of Chicago, and the University of Cincinnati. Copies giving the date April 2, 1621, are in the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Cambridge University Library, the Yale University Library, and the personal library of Evelyn M. Simpson.

the same day, or three years apart? And if on the same day, was it in 1618 or 1621? The questions are, however, readily settled by a study of the two sermons themselves. They could not have been preached three years apart. The first covers only one of the three main sections into which, in his "Divisio," Donne divides his text, the part that he calls "Radicem, The Roote of the Gospell"; at the end of this first of the two sermons he says that "We reserve for another exercise" the other two sections, "the Tree it self" and "the fruit"; and the second sermon begins with a brief recapitulation, "We have considered heretofore that which appertained to the Roote, and all the circumstances thereof," and then continues with a treatment of "the Tree" and "the fruit." It would be ridiculous to suppose that two sermons thus closely connected were separated by a gap of three years. The date 1618 seems much more likely to be right; for obviously a correction was made while the sheets were going through the press and after some had been run off, and if the correct date had been 1621, presumably the heading of the first sermon, not the second, would have been changed.[57] There can be very little question that the two were both preached on April 19, 1618, presumably one in the morning and the other in the afternoon or evening.[58]

The two sermons are very different, in content and even to some degree in style. The first is a serious, close, detailed, and rather heavily learned exposition of the phrase "This is a faithful saying." The second goes into less detail, is larger in scope, more compressed in style, and full of the glory of Donne's prose at its best. Donne may have planned the whole as a single sermon, discovered that it was too long, and divided it into two; or he may have preached it, in abbreviated form, as a single sermon and divided it into two afterward.[59] Of these two possibilities, the latter is less likely, because of the state of the

[57] No conclusion can be reached on the basis of a study of other corrections in *XXVI Sermons,* since the change of date was the only correction in the forme that contained the page concerned.

[58] For evidence that Donne was not unaccustomed to preaching both morning and afternoon of the same day, see *ante,* p. 116, the account of his visit to Camberwell, and footnote 36, to p. 130, concerning his visit to Knole.

[59] He thus divided at least one other sermon, the one he preached at The Hague on December 19, 1619.

sermons as we have them in the 1661 Folio. John Donne the younger quite evidently had a very poor manuscript source for both. As has been pointed out in the General Introductions to the present edition,[60] he evidently collected for the third Folio volume of his father's sermons manuscripts or early printed copies from several different sources, odds and ends gathered from his father's friends or from others who might possess them. The state of the text varies, therefore, for the different sermons, and has always to be considered as less authoritative that that of the sermons in the two previous Folios of 1640 and 1649. For these two sermons the source must have been even less reliable than for most of the others in the volume. They show blunders that damage the sense of numerous passages and sometimes seem to have completely obliterated Donne's intention. Furthermore, the marginal notations, unlike those of Donne's other sermons, include almost no references to the Fathers, in spite of the fact that the Fathers are quoted normally often in the text itself. Just what was the source for the two sermons, we may never know; but it can hardly have been a manuscript containing the careful and consistent revision that lies behind the text for the sermons published in 1640. Again, it is hard to imagine Donne as having, *after* delivery, expanded the first of his three main points, when his treatment of the other two points is so plainly superior in significance and appeal.

It is, however, easy to imagine that Donne started to prepare a single sermon on this text, became so much involved in an exposition of the first point that he saw it would occupy the time allotted for a whole sermon, decided then to preach both morning and evening on the same text, laid the task aside for a day or two, and finally came with fresh zest to the exposition of the main two-thirds of his text, the central ideas that had caused him to choose that text in the first place. Possibly his zest was increased by his knowledge that this second sermon would be preached in the spring twilight, a time of day when innumerable preachers have hoped to find their hearers' hearts more receptive than in the forenoon.

Each of the two sermons is impressive in its own way, and they should be read together. In the first, Donne may weary the reader by the large number of Scriptural quotations or allusions that he uses to

[60] See *ante*, pp. 49, 53–55.

prove his points; but he does prove them, according to the assumptions of his church and his time, and he gives the effect of high seriousness in doing so. There is little if any of the somewhat specious ingenuity in which he occasionally indulges elsewhere. His hearers must have emerged from the service with a full realization that this was indeed a "faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation," and a readiness to hear him later in the day explain and apply the content of the saying itself. Even in this first sermon, too, the words at least once rise from the coolness of logical reasoning and learned quotation to a glow, a foretaste of what is to come later:

> Miserable man! a Toad is a bag of Poyson, and a Spider is a blister of Poyson, and yet a Toad and a Spider cannot poyson themselves; Man hath a dram of poyson, originall-Sin, in an invisible corner, we know not where, and he cannot choose but poyson himselfe and all his actions with that; we are so far from being able to begin without Grace, as then where we have the first Grace, we cannot proceed to the use of that, without more.[61]

Then, in the softer light of the late afternoon, Donne spoke again, and before he had gone far in his exposition his words became illumined with a fire that had only barely touched them in the morning.

> It is a frivolous interogatory, a lost question, an impertinent article, to enquire what God would have done if *Adam* had stood. But *Adam* is fallen, and we in him; and therefore though we may piously wish with St. *Augustine, utinam non fuisset miseria ne iste misericordia esset necessaria,* I would man had not been so miserable, as to put God to this way of mercy; yet since our sins had induced this misery upon us, and this necessity (if we may so say) upon God, let us change all our disputation into thanksgiving, and all our *utrums,* and *quæres,* and *quando's* of the school, to the *Benedictus,* and *Alelujahs* and *Osanna's* of the Church; Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who hath visited and redeemed his people; blessed that he would come at all, which was our first, and blessed that he is come already, which is our second consideration; *venit,* He came, He is come.[62]
>
> Christ is come in the flesh: and therefore as the earth is warmer an hour after the sun sets, then it was an hour before the sun rose, so let our faith and zeal be warmer now after Christs departing out of this world, then theirs was before his coming into it: and let us so rejoyce at this *Ecce venit Rex tuus,* that our King our Messias, is already come, as that we may cherefully say, *veni Domine Jesu,* come Lord Jesu come quickly, and be

[61] P. 293 of the present volume.

[62] P. 304 of the present volume.

glad if at the going out of these dores, we might meet him coming in the clouds.

At least be sure that he is so far come into the world, as that he be come into thee. Thou art but a little world, a world but of a few spanns in length; and yet Christ was sooner carried from east to west, from *Jerusalem* to these parts, then thou canst carry him over the faculties of thy Soul and Body; He hath been in a pilgrimage towards thee long, coming towards thee, perchance 50, perchance 60 years; and how far is he got into thee yet?[63]

The last section of the sermon, on Paul's deprecatory reference to himself as the chief of sinners, comes to a present-day reader as something of an anticlimax, and seems not wholly convincing. We like to think of Paul as a human being who sometimes wrote from momentary feeling rather than conscious deliberation. Yet Donne's careful reasoning about Paul's words is understandable enough, and would not have troubled his hearers. He knew that there had been much laboring of the point by medieval scholarly brains, and it was only natural that he should have taken every detail in Paul's epistles as seriously meant and inspired by the Holy Spirit. Granting his and his audience's unquestioned assumption, his explanation is reasonable. Also, the comparison of Paul to Socrates is excellent and enlightening, and the application to every Christian is impressive.

These sermons on *I Timothy,* though preached (we are told) at Whitehall, have little of the political awareness that usually marks—and often vitiates—Donne's other early discourses at the court of James. Once, to be sure, he attacks the Pope; but the attack is brief, and is relevant to his main purpose; it is also, significantly, in the first of the two sermons. In the second, he forgot everything but his convictions regarding the love of Christ and the sin of man, and preached from his heart. The result, in spite of some details that stamp it as of its own time, is a work of art that is alive today and is essentially timeless in its appeal.

In these nine early sermons, then—probably the earliest nine that survive, though one cannot be certain about the dates of some of the Lincoln's Inn group,—an attentive reader can follow Donne's mental and artistic development from near the beginning of his clerical career through three years, to the spring of 1618, by which time he had won

[63] Pp. 307, 308 of the present volume.

fame and acquired some ease in his medium as well as a mastery of it. He began with mental equipment sufficient for his profession in some ways, but not in all. He had thought and speculated for years, had even written and published, on theology and on ecclesiastical doctrine and law. He had the thorough knowledge of a man of the world concerning many human vices and frailties, and in his bitter "middle years" had achieved a hearty repentance for the sins he was conscious of in himself. He had explored widely and deeply, by experience and even more by introspection, in the large field of those varied and complex forces that attract human beings toward one another and are all too vaguely indicated by the word "love." He had had from his early youth a keen and subtly logical mind, and an ability to see striking paradoxes that was throughout his life to serve him in good stead as a means of rousing interest in his readers and hearers. At the beginning of his ministry, however, he was lacking in several respects. He lacked a profound sense of consecration. He had not yet developed in himself a full consciousness of the mutual love between God and man. He lacked formal training in pulpit oratory, did not have a clear sense of the artistic values in spoken as distinguished from written language, and, above all, lacked a clear comprehension of either the desires or the deeper needs of his congregations. Considering his advanced years when he started on his career, it is amazing that he overcame as rapidly as he did those deficiencies that he found in himself. Deliberate self-training and careful study removed some of them; experience and a sensitive response to his audiences removed others. But what probably taught him the most, during these three years, what by shocking and disturbing his deepest feelings gave him enlightenment that endured through the rest of his life, was an event he would have given life itself to have delayed—the loss, that is, of his wife. Anne Donne, quiet and unassuming as she must have been (for we know almost nothing about her personality except as it affected her husband), had by her life taught him the deeper values of love between man and woman, and by her death brought him to the conviction that human love is by itself not enough for man if he is to live fully. Surely an introduction to this volume containing sermons from Donne's formative years cannot close more fittingly than with a tribute to her memory.

The Sermons

Number 1.

A Sermon Preached at Greenwich, Aprill 30. 1615.

Esay 52.3. *YE HAVE SOLD YOUR SELVES FOR NOUGHT, AND YE SHALL BE REDEEMED WITHOUT MONEY.*

It is evident in it self, and agreed by all, that this is a prophecy of a deliverance; but from what calamity it is a deliverance, or when this prophecy was accomplished, is not so evident, nor so constantly agreed upon. All the expositions may well be reduced to three; First, that it is a deliverance from the captivity of *Babylon,* and then the benefit appertains onely to the Jews, and their deliverer, and Redeemer is *Cyrus;* Secondly, that it is a deliverance from persecutions in the primitive Church, and so it appertains onely to Christians, and their Redeemer from those persecutions, is *Constantine;* And thirdly that it
° is a deliverance from the sting and bondage of death by sin; and so it appertains to the whole world, and the Redeemer of the whole world is Christ Jesus: For the first, since both the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, and the Jewish *Rabbins* themselves, do interpret this to be a prophecy of the Messias, because they labour ever more, as strongly as they can, to wring our weapons out of our hands, and to take from us, many of those arguments, which we take from the Prophets, for the proof of the Messias: it concerns us therefore to hold fast, as much as they grant us, and not to interpret this place of a temporal deliverance from *Babylon,* but of the deliverance by the Messias. And for the second, which
° is the deliverance of the Christians, from the persecutions in the primitive times, though the Christians did then with a holy cheerfulness suffer those persecutions, when they could not avoid them, without prevaricating, and betraying the hour of Christ Jesus, yet they did not wilfully thrust themselves into those dangers, they did not provoke the

Magistrate; And the word which is here translated, *ye sold your selves, vendidistis vos,* implies *actionem spontaneam,* a free and voluntary action, done by themselves, and therefore cannot well be understood of the persecutions in the Primitive Church. The third therefore, as it is the most usefull and most received, so it is the most proper acceptation of the word, that it is a deliverance from the bondage of sin, to be wrought by Christ: for as Saint *Hierome* says, this Prophet *Esay,* is rather an Evangelist, than a Prophet, because almost all that Christ did, and said, and suffered, is foretold, and prophetically antidated in his prophecy, and almost all his prophecy hath some relation (at least in a secondary sense of accommodation, where it is not so primarily and literally) to the words and actions, and passions of Christ.

Following then this interpretation in general of the word, that it is a deliverance from the wages of sin, *Death,* by Christ, we may take in passing, a short view, of the miserable condition of man, wherin he enwraped himself, and of the aboundant mercy of Christ Jesus in withdrawing him from that universal calamity, by considering onely the sense, and largeness, and extention of those words, in which the holy Ghost hath been pleased to express both these in this Text. For first, the word in which our action is expressed, which is *Machar, vendidistis,* ye have sold, signifies in many places of Scripture, *dare pro re alia,* a permutation, an exchange of one thing for another; and in other places it signifies *Dedere,* upon any little attempt to forsake and abandon our defences, and to suffer the enemy easily to prevail upon us; so also it signifies *Tradere,* not onely to forsake our selves, but to concur actually to the delivering up of our selves; and lastly, it signifies *Repellere,* to joyn with our enemies in beating back any that should come to our relief, and rescue. And then, as we have so sold our selves, for the substance of the Act, as is expressed in that word *Machar,* we have exchanged our selves at an undervalue, and worse than that, we have yeelded up our selves upon easie tentations, and worse than that, we have offered our selves, exposed our selves, invited the devil, and tempted temptations, and worse than that, we have Rejected the succours and the supplies which have been offered us in the means and conduits, and seals of his Graces. As it stands thus with us, for the matter, so for the manner, how we have done this, that is expressed in that other word, *kinnan,* which signifies *fecit,* as it is here, *Gratis,* for

nought. And in another place, *Frustra,* to no purpose; for it is a void bargain, because we had no title, no interest in our selves, when we sold our selves; and it signifies, *temere,* rashly, without consideration of our own value, upon whom God had stamped his Image; And then again it signifies, *Immerito,* undeservedly, before God, in whose jurisdiction we were by many titles, had forsaken us, or done any thing to make us forsake him. So that our action in selling our selves for nothing, hath this latitude, That man whom God hath dignified so much,
70 as that in the Creation he imprinted his Image in him, and in the Redemption he assumed not the Image, but the very nature of man, That man whom God still preserved as the Aple of his Eye, and (as he expresses himself often in the Prophets) is content to reason, and to dispute with man, and to submit himself to any tryal whither he have not been a gracious God unto him: That this man should thus abandon this God, and exchange his soul for any thing in this world, when as it can profit nothing, to gain the whole world and loose our own soul, and not exchange it, but give it away, thrust it off, and be a devil to the devil, to tempt the tempter himself to take it. But then, as the word
80 aggravates our condemnation, so it implies a consolation too; for it is *frustra,* That is unprovidently, unthriftily, inconsideratly, vainly, and that multiplies our fault, but then it is invalidly, and uneffectually too; that is, it is a void bargain; and when our powerful Redeemer, is pleased to come, and claim his right, and set on foot his title, all this improvident bargain of ours is voided, and reversed, and not though, but because we have sold our selves, for nought, we shall be redeemed without money.

For the other word, in which the action of our Redeemer is expressed, though it have somewhat different uses in the Scriptures, yet
90 it is evermore spoken of him, *Qui habet jus redimendi,* no man, by the Law could redeem a thing, but he who had a title to that thing. So the word is used, where there are given *Cities of refuge from the avenger.* [Num. 35.12] There the word is, *a redemptore,* from him that hath right to redeem his kinsmans blood, to bring an Appeal, and to prosecute for the death of his kinsman, who was slaine. So is the word used also, where that Law is given, *If thy brother be impoverished, and he sell his possession, then his redeemer, &c.* [Leviticus 25.25] That is, he that is next to that land; And so also, when a man dyed without issue, he who had the right, and the obliga-

[Ruth 3.12] tion, to raise seed to the dead man, he was the redeemer: *I am thy kinsman,* saith *Booz* to *Ruth,* but saith he, *Alius Redemptor magis propinquus,* Thou hast another Redeemer, nearer in blood then I am. How ill a bargain soever we made for our selves, Christ Jesus hath not lost his right in us, but is our Redeemer in all these acceptations of the word: He is our sanctuary and refuge; when we have commited spiritual murder upon our own Souls, he preserves us, and delivers us to the redemption ordained for us: when we have sold our possessions, our natural faculties, He supplies us with grace, and feeds us with his Word, and cloaths us with his Sacraments, and warms us with his Absolutions, against all diffidence, which had formerly frozen us up: and in our barrenness, he raises up seed unto our dead souls, thoughts, and works, worthy of repentance. All this, thy Redeemer hath right to do; and, when it pleases him to do it, he does it, *sine argento,* without money; when the noun *Casaph,* signifies not onely money, but, *Omne appetibile,* any thing that we can place our desires, or cast our thoughts, upon. This Redemption of ours, is wrought by such means, as the desire of man could never have fortuned upon; The Incarnation of God, and then the death and Crucifying of that God, so Incarnate, could never have fallen within the desire, nor wish of any man; neither would any man of himself ever have conceived, That the Sacraments of the Church, poor and naked things of themselves, (for all that the wit of man could imagine in them, or allow to them) should be such means to seal, and convey the graces, which accompany this Redemption of our souls, to our souls.

Divisio So then, Having thus represented unto you, a model, and designe, of the miserable condition of man, and the abundant mercy of our Redeemer, so far, as those words which the Holy Ghost hath chosen in this text, hath invited and led us, That we may look better upon some pieces of it, that we may take such a sight of this Redeemer here, as that we may know Him, when we meet Him at home, at our house, in our private meditations, at His house, in the last judgment, I shall onely offer you two considerations; *Exprobrationem*, and *Consolationem:* First, an exprobration, or increpation from God to us, And then a consolation, or consolidation of the same God upon us; And in the exprobration, God reproches to us, first, our Prodigality, that we would sell a reversion, our possibility, our expectance of an inherit-

ance in heaven; And then, our cheapness, that we would sell that, for nothing.

Prodigality

First then, Prodigality is a sin, that destroys even the means of liberality. If a man wast so, as that he becomes unable to releive others, by this wast, this is a sinful prodigality; but much more, if he wast so, as that he is not able to subsist, and maintain himself; and this is our case, who have even annihilated our selves, by our profuseness; For, it is his mercy that we are not consumed. It is a sin, and a viperous sin; it eats out his own womb; The Prodigal consumes that that should maintain his Prodigality: It is *peccatum Biathanaton,* a sin that murders it self.

Now, as in civil Prodigalities, in a wastfulness of our temporal estate, the Law inflicts three kinds of punishment, three incommodities upon him that is a Prodigal, so have the same punishments a proportion, and some things that answer them, in this spiritual prodigality of the soul by sin. The first is, *Bonis suis interdicitur;* He that is a Prodigall, in the Law, cannot dispose of his own Estate; whatsoever he gives, or sells, or leases, all is void, as of a mad-man, or of an Infant. And such is the condition of a man in sin; He hath no interest in his own natural faculties; He cannot think, he cannot wish, he cannot do any thing of himself; the venem and the malignity of his sin goes through all his actions, and he cannot purge it.

The second incommodity is, *Testamentum non facit,* The Prodigal person hath no power allowed him by the Law, to make a will, at his death: And this also doth an habitual sinner suffer: For, when he comes to his end, he may dictate to a Notary, and he may bid him write, *Imprimis,* I give my Soul to God, my Body to such a Church, my Goods to such, and such persons: But if those Goods be liable to other debts, the Legataries shall have no profit; If the person be under excommunication, he shall not lye in that Church; If his soul be under the weight of unrepented sins, God will do the devil no wrong, he will not take a soul, that is sold to him before.

The third Incommodity that a Prodigal incurrs by the Law, is, *Exhæredatus creditur,* He is presum'd to be disinherited by his father; that whereas, by that Law, if the father, in his Will, leave out any of his childrens names, and never mention him, yet that child which is pretermitted, shall come in for a childs part, except the father have

assigned a particular reason why he left him out; If this childe were a Prodigal, there needs no other reason to be assigned, but *Exhæredatus Creditur,* He is presum'd to be disinherited. And so also, if we have seen a man prodigal of his own soul, and run on in a course of sin, all his life, except there appear very evident signs of resumption into Gods grace, at his end, *Exhæredatus Creditur,* we have just reason to be afraid, that he is disinherited. If any such sinner seem to thee to repent at his end, *Fateor vobis non negamus, quod petit,* saith St. *Augustin:* I confess, we ought not to deny him, any help that he desires in that late extremity; *Sed non præsumimus quia bene exit,* I dare not assure you, that that man dyes in a good state; he adds that vehemence, *non præsumo, non vos fallo, non præsumo:* I should but deceive you, if I should assure you, that such a man dyed well. There was one good and happy Thief, that stole a Salvation, at the crucifying of Christ; but in him, that was throughly true, which is proverbially spoken, *Occasio facit furem,* the opportunity made him a thief: and when there is such another opportunity, there may be such another thief; when Christ is to dye again, we may presume of mercy, upon such a late repentance at our death. The preventing grace of God, made him lay violent hands upon heaven. But when thou art a Prodigal of thy soul, will God be a prodigal too, for thy sake, and betray and prostitute the kingdome of Heaven, for a sigh, or a groan, in which thy pain may have a greater part than thy repentance? God can raise up children out of the stones of the street, and therefore he might be as liberal as he would of his people, and suffer them to be sold for old shoes; but Christ will not sell his birth-right for a messe of pottage, the kingdome of Heaven, for the dole at a Funeral. Heaven is not to be had in exchange for an Hospital, or a Chantry, or a Colledge erected in thy last will: It is not onely the selling all we have, that must buy that pearl, which represents the kingdome of Heaven; The giving of all that we have to the poor, at our death, will not do it; the pearl must be sought, and found before, in an even, and constant course of Sanctification; we must be thrifty all our life, or we shall be too poor for that purchase.

It is then an unthrifty, a perplexed bargain, when both the buyer, and the seller loose; our losse is plain enough, for we loose our souls: And certainly, howsoever the devil be expressed to take some joy at

the winning of a sinner, howsoever his kingdome be thereby enlarged, yet Almighty God suffers not his treason, his undermining of man, to be unpunished, but afflicts him with more and more accidental torments, even for that; as a licencious man takes pleasure in the victory of having corrupted a woman, by his solicitation, but yet insensibly overthrows his constitution, by his sin; so the withdrawing of Gods Subjects, from his allegiance, induces an addition of punishment upon the devil himself.

Consider a little further, our wretchedness, in this prodigality; we think those Laws barbarous and inhumane, which permit the sale of men in debt, for the satisfaction of Creditors; but we sell our selves, and grow the farther in debt, by being sold; we are sold, and to even rate our debts, and to aggravate our condemnation. We find in the history of the *Muscovits,* that it is an ordinary detainder amongst them, to sell themselves, and their posterity, into everlasting bondage, for hot drink: In one winter, a wretched man will drink himself, and his posterity, into perpetual slavery. But we sell our selves, not for drink, but for thirst: we are sory when our appetite too soon decaies, and we would fain sin more than we do. At what a high rate did the blessed Martyrs sell their bodies; They built up Gods Church with their blood: They sowed his field, and prepared his harvest with their blood: they got heaven for their bodies, and we give bodies, and souls for hell.

In a right inventary, every man that ascends to a true value of himself, considers it thus; First, His Soul, then His life; after his fame and good name: And lastly, his goods and estate; for thus their own nature hath ranked them, and thus they are (as in nature) so ordinarily in legal consideration preferred before one another. But for our souls, because we know not, how they came into us, we care not how they go out; because, if I aske a Philosopher, whither my soul came in, by propagation from my parents, or by an immediate infusion from God, perchance he cannot tell, so I think, a divine can no more tell me, whither, when my soul goes out of me, it be likely to turn on the right, or on the left hand, if I continue in this course of sin. And then, for the second thing in this inventary, Life; the Devil himself said true, *skin for skin, and all that a man hath, will he give for his life;* [Job 2.4] indeed we do not easily give away our lives expresly, and at once; but

we do very easily suffer our selves to be cousened of our lives: we pour in death in drink, and we call that health, we know our life to be but a span, and yet we can wash away one inche in ryot, we can burn away one inch in lust, we can bleed away one inch in quarrels, we have not an inch for every sin; and if we do not pour out our lives, yet we drop them away. For the third peece of our self, our fame and reputation, who had not rather be thought an usurer, then a beggar? who had not rather be the object of envy, by being great, than of scorn and contempt, by being poor, upon any conditions? And for the last of all, which is our goods, though our covetousness appears most, in the love of them, in that lowest thing of all (*Adeo omnia homini cariora seipso,* so much does every man think every inferiour thing better than himself, than his fame, than his body, than his soul; which is a most perverse undervaluing of himself, and a damnable humility) yet even with these goods also, (as highly as he values them) a man will part if to fuell, and foment, and maintain that sin, that he delights in: that which is the most precious, our souls, we undervalue most; and that which we do esteem most, (though naturally it should be lowest) our estate, we are content to wast, and dissipate for our sins: And whereas the Heathens needed laws to restrain them, from an expensive, and wastful worship of their Gods, every man was so apt to exceed in sacrifices and such other religious duties, til that law, *Deos frugi Colunto,* Let men be thrifty and moderate in religious expenses, was enacted, (which law was a kind of mortmain, and inhibition, That every man might not bestow what he would, upon the service of those Gods) we have turned our prodigality the other way, upon the devil, whom we have made *Hæredem in esse* and our sole executor, and sacrificed soul, and life, and fame, and fortune, all the gifts of God, and God himself, by making his religion, and his Sacraments, and the profession of his name, in an hypocriticall use of them, to be the devils instruments, to draw us the easilyer, and hold us the faster; and what prodigality can be conceived to exceed this, in which we do not onely mispend our selves, but mispend our God.

Seneca

Nihil The other point in this exprobration is, that, as we have prodigally sold our selves, so we have inconsiderately sold our selves for nothing; we have in our bargain, diseases, and we have poverty, and we have unsensibleness of our miseries; but diseases are but privations of

health, and poverty but a privation of wealth, and unsensibleness but a privation of tenderness of Conscience; all are privations, and privations are nothing. If a man had got nothing by a bargain but repentance, he would think, and justly, he had got little: but if thou hadst repentance in this bargain, thy bargain were the better; if thou couldst come to think thy bargain bad, it were a good bargain; but the height of the misery is in this, that one of those nothings, for which we have sold our selves is a stupidity, an unsensibleness of our own wretchedness.

The Laws do annull, and make void fraudulent conveyances; and then the laws presume fraud in the conveyance, if at least half the value of the thing be not given: now if the whole world be not worth one soul, who can say, that he hath half his value? It were not meerly nothing, if (considering that inventary, which we spoke of before) we had the worse for the better; that were but an ill exchange, but yet it were not nothing. If we had bodies for our souls, it were not meerly nothing; but we finde, that sin that sells our souls, decays and withers our bodies; our bodies grow incapable of that sin, unable to commit that sin, which we sold our souls for. If we had fame and reputation for our bodies, it were not nothing: but we see, that Heretiques, that give their bodies to the fire, are by the very law, infamous, and they are infamous in every mans apprehension. If we had worldly goods for loss of fame, and of our good name, yet still it were not nothing; but we see that witches, who are infamous persons, for the most part, live in extreme beggery too. So that the exprobration is just, we have sold our selves for nothing; and however the ordinary murmuring may be true, in other things, that all things are grown dearer, our souls are still cheap enough, which at first were all sold in gross, for (perchance) an Apple, and are now retailed every day for nothing.

Joseph was sold underfoot by his brethren; but it is hard to say, for how much; some Copies have that he was sold for 20 pieces, and some for 25, and some for 30: and S. *Ambrose* and S. *Augustin,* collect arguments, at least, allusions, from this variety of Copies: but all these say, it was but so many pieces of silver. The *Septuagints,* in their translation, extend them to gold, to so many crowns, or such: *Josephus* multiplies them to pounds, so many pounds: all think it too low a price for *Joseph,* to be sold for twenty pieces of silver. But yet if it were so, [Gen. 37.28]

this was not for nothing; and for this selling, his brethren had some pretence of excuse *ne polluantur manus,* they would but sell him, least their hands should be defiled with blood: but we sell our selves, *ut polluantur manus,* therefore, that our hands may be defiled with blood, even with our own blood, with the loss of our bodies, which we consume by sin, and of our souls, which perish eternally by it.

Our Saviour Christ, every drop of whose blood was of infinite value (for one of our souls is more worth than the whole world, and one drop of his blood had been sufficient for all the souls of 1000 worlds, if it had been applied unto them) was sold scornfully and basely, at a low price; at most, not above six pound of our money; but we sell our selves, and him too, we crucifie him again every day, for nothing: and when our sin is the very crucifying of him, that should save us, who shall save us? Earthly Princes have been so jealous of their honours, as that they have made it Treason, to carry their pictures into any low Office, or into any irreverend place. Beloved, whensoever we commit any sin, upon discourse, upon consideration, upon purpose, and plot, the image of God which is engraved and imprinted in us, and lodged in our understanding, and in that reason which we employ in that sin, is mingled with that sin; we draw the image of God into all our incontinencies, into all our oppressions, into all our extortions, and supplantations: we carry his image, into all foul places, which we haunt upon earth; yea we carry his image down with us, to eternal condemnation: for, even in Hell, *uri potest, non exuri Imago Dei,* says S. *Bernard;* The image of God burns in us in hell, but can never be burnt out of us: as long as the understanding soul remains, the Image of God remains in it, and so we have used the image of God, as witches are said to do the images of men; by wounding or melting the image, they destroy the person: and we by defacing the image of God in our selves by sin, to the painful and shameful death of the Cross.

Gen. 31.[15] *Rachel* and *Lea* complained of their father *Laban,* thus, *He hath sold us, and hath eat, and consumed the money;* they lamented it much, to see themselves sold, and by their father, and their father never the better for the bargain. But still our case is worse than any; the devil hath bought us, and he, he who hath bought us, hath eaten and consumed the money: he pretends to buy us, by giving us pleasure, or profit for our selves, and then those very pleasures, and those riches,

which he pretends to give us, are his food, and his instruments, to effect his mischievous and tyrannous purposes upon us. And therefore
[o] let no man think himself exempt from this challenge, that he hath sold himself for nothing. Let no man present his Dotals, his Court-rolls, his Baculs, his good Debts, his titles of honour, his Maces, or his Staves, or his Ensignes of power and Office, and say, call you all this nothing? Compare all these with thy soul, and they are nothing. Now, whilest thou wallowest in all these here, thou mayest hear God say, *Quid habes, quod non accepisti, What hast thou of all this, which thou hast not received;* but when the Bell tols, then he shall say, in the voyce of that Bell, *Quid habes quod accepisti,* What hast thou of all that thou hast received? Is not all that come to nothing? and then thou that
[p] thoughtest thy self strong enough in purse, in power, in favour, to compass any thing, and to embrace many things, shalt not finde thy self able to attain to a door-keepers place in the kingdome of heaven.

[I Cor. 4.7]

Let no man therefore take too much joy, to apply to himself those words of the parable, *Filii sæculi, The children of this world* (which grow rich) *are wiser than the children of light;* for it is but, *In generatione sua, Wiser in their generation;* and how litle a while that generation shall last, God knows; and what fools they shall appear to be, for all generations after, we know. They are called the wisest amongst men, as the Serpent was called the wisest amongst Beasts, that is, still,
[30] the fittest for the devil to work in, to make his instruments and engines, to desire a curse upon themselves, and their posterity. Let no man wrest Gods example to his purpose, and say, if he do sell himself for nothing, he does but as God himself did, and as *David* told him he did, *Thou sellest thy people without gain, and doest not increase their price.* That was not for nothing; God had his end in that: neither was it an absolute sale; but a short term: God sels us over to sickness, to tribulations, to afflictions, for some time; perchance for the whole term, of this short life; but all this is but to improve us, and that we may be the fitter for him when he takes us into his owne hand again, in that sur-
[90] render of our self, *In manus tuas,* when we shall deliver up our souls to him that gave them: for here no propriety is Destroyed, still here is *meum & tuum* between God and me; It is still my soul, and still his soul; and when God looked mercyfully towards *Job* then Satans lease expired. God doth not give his saints for Nothing; for *sanguis Semen,*

[Luke 16.8]

Psal. 44. [12]

[Luke 23.46]

The blood of the Martyrs was the seed of the Church, and *ye are*
I Cor. 6.[20] *bought with a price* sayes the Apostle; It is *pretiose* ye are pretiously bought, even with the pretious blood, of the onely Son of God. And for our temporall and secular value, in Gods account, we see how God expressed his care of the people, when he diverted *Sennachrib,* from
Esa. 43. [3 and 4] afflicting them, by turning him upon other wars. *I gave Egypt for thy ransome, Ethiopia, and Seba for thee, because thou wast pretious in my sight, and thou wast honourable, and I loved thee; therfore will I give man for thee, and people for thy sake.* And this leads us in to the second part, The Consolation, that Though, nay, *Because we have sold our selves for nothing, we shall be Redeemed without mony.*

2 Part Into this part then, there is at first a strange Enterance; Therfore, That therfore, because we have sold our selves we should be redeemed; Therefore because we have been prodigal, we should be made rich. But, this Therfore, this reason, relates to the price, not to the worke of the Redemption, Because it was for nothing, that we were sold, it is without money, that we are Redeemed: for, for that, there is reason in Equity: but for the Redemption itself, there is no therfore, no reason at all to be assigned, but onely the Eternall goodness of God himself, and the Eternall purpose of his will: Of which will of God, whosoever seeks a reason, *Aliquid majus Deo quærit,* says S. *Augustin,* he that seeks what perswaded or inclind the will of God, seeks for somthing wiser, and greater than God himself.

In this redemption then God pursues the devil, in all those steps, by which he had made his profit, of a prodigality; for, first, as we gave
Luc. 15.[11–32] away our selves, so he restores us to our selves again. It is well expressed in the parable of the prodigall; and his case is ours. The portion which he asked of his father, was the use of his free-will. God gave it him; *Adams* first Immortality was, *posse non mori* he needed not to have died: It was in his own power whether he would keep a free-will, or no, and he spent that stock, he lost that free-will. He spent not his free-will so as *Bellarmin* understands this spending, that that man may be sayd to spend his life ill, that misimployes it, but yet he hath this life in him still: But the prodigall, *Adam,* spent his utterly: he spent it so, that he and we have no freewill at all left. But yet; even the prodigall sayd, that he would return to his father, and he came; He had not only some sudden thoughts of Repentance, but he put himself actually in the way:

cum longe abesset, says that parable, when he was a great way off, yet because he was in the way, his father met him and kissed him, and put that Robe upon him, which was not onely *Dignitas, quam perdidit Adam,* as S. *Austin* qualifies it, a restitution to the same integrity, which *Adam* had and had lost, but that was *Amictus sapientiæ,* (so S. *Ambrose* calls it) it was an ability to preserve himself in that integrity, to which he was restored. It was a Robe that was put upon him; it was none of his own; but when it was put upon him, it rectified and re-
° stored those faculties, which were his own: as the eye sees in a man restored to life, though the soul enable the eye and not the eye it self, so the faculty of free-will works in us as well as it did in *Adam* though onely the grace of God enable that faculty. [Luke 15.20]

When God hath wrought that first cure (which he does by incorporating us, in the Church by baptisme) that we are our selves again, then (as in the case of prodigals in the law) as they had Tutors, and Curators appointed them, so he sends the Holy Ghost, to be our Guardian our Curator: and as the office of that person, in that law, was double, first to reverse all contracts and bargains, which that prodigal
° person, in that state, had made, and secondly to inhibit, and hinder him, from making new contracts, so this blessed Spirit of consolation, by his sanctification, seals to our consciences a *Quietus est,* a discharge of all former spiritual debts, he cancells all them, he nails them to the cross of Christ, and then he strengthens us against relapses into the same sins again.

He proceeds farther than this; beyond restoring us, beyond preserving us; for he betters us, he improves us, to a better condition, than we were in, at first. And this he does, first by purging and purifying us, and then by changing, and transmuting us. He purges us by his sun-
° shine, by his temporal blessings; for, as the greatest globes of gold lye nearest the face and top of the earth, where they have received the best concoction from the heat of the sun; so certainly, in reason, they who have had Gods continual sun-shine upon them, in a prosperous fortune, should have received the best concoction, the best digestion of the testimonies of his love, and consequently be the purer, and the more refined mettall. If this purging prevail not, then he comes to purge those whom he means to lay up in his treasure, with tribulation; he carries them from the sun-shine into the fire, and therefore, if those

tribulations fall upon thee in a great and heavy measure, think thy dross needed this vehemence, and do not make afflictions, Arguments of God neglecting thee, for he that is presented to have suffered very much, is also presented to have been very righteous, that is *Iob;* And he that was the most innocent of all, suffered most of all, Christ Jesus thy Saviour.

From this purifying comes our transmutation, that we are changed *in semen Dei,* made the seed of God: for, so God calls children that are derived from honest, and godly parents, *The seed of God,* in the Prophet: but more fully in the Apostle, *whosoever is born of God sinneth not, for his seed remaineth in him:* for this generation, is our regeneration, *of his own will begat he us, with the word of truth:* this grace makes us as properly the seed of God, as sin makes us the seed of the Devill, of the Serpent, and so we are expresly called in *Genesis,* and so also in the Apostles *you are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father, you will do.* So we are changed *in naturam Dei,* as S. *Peter* expresses it: By his precious promises we are made partakers of the divine nature: not *Ab anteriori,* nor *a posteriori;* not that we are so derived from the nature and essence of God, as that our souls should be of his very substance, as the *Manichees* imagined, nor, as *Origen* mistook, upon misinterpreting these words to the *Corinthians, ut Deus sit omnia in omnibus,* That God should be all in all, so as that at last, the whole nature of mankind, and indeed, all other natures and substances (if *Origen* have been rightly understood by some men near his own times) should be swallowed up, and drowned in the very substance of God himself. But this transmutation is a glorious restoring of Gods image in us, and it is our conformity to him; and when either his temporal blessings, or his afflictions, his sun, or his fire, hath tried us up to that height, to a conformity to him, then come we to that transmutation, which admits no re-transmutation, which is a modest, but infalible assurance of a final perseverance, so to be joyned to the Lord, as to be one spirit with him; for as a spirit cannot be divided, so they who are thus changed into him, are so much His, so much He, as that nothing can separate them from him; and this is the ladder, by which we may try, how far we are in the way to heaven.

And when we are come to this, then we are able to see, and to consider, the poverty, and the value of him, who had before bought us, for

Mal. 2.[15] I Ioh. 3.[9] Iacob. 1.[18] 3.[15] Io. 8.[44] 2. [Pet.] 1.[4] 1 [Cor.] 15.[28]

nothing, and enthraled us. The Devil is called the Lord of the world; 2 Cor. 4.[4]
but that is, in the person of Infidells; and we are none of that world.
Though we have to do with Principallities, and spiritual wickedness,
yet St. *Paul* motions it thus much, *Est nobis Colluctatio,* He arms us Ephes.
at all points, in that chapter, fit to indure any violent, or any long [6.12]
attempt, and yet he tells us, that all that we have to do with the Devil,
is but *Colluctatio,* but a wrastling; we may be throwen, but we cannot
be slain. So also is the same state of the saints of Gods described: That
the Devil labours to Devoure, That he walks about, and seeks, Those
who are without the pale, without the Church, and those that are
Rebellious and refractary within it, these he may devoure without any
resistance: they fall into his mouth; but for us, who are embraced by
thy Redemption, he is put to his labour, and to lose his labour too; He
is put to seek, and put to miss too. He was put to sue out a Commission,
for Jobs goods; till then he confessed to God, Thou hast put a hedge [Job 1.10]
about him. He was put to renew this commission, for his person;
Touch his bones? but further he durst not ask. He hath a Kingdom, [2.5]
but no body knowes where: I would we might still dispute, whether
it were in the Earth, or in the Ayre, and not finde this Kingdome in
our owne hearts. Expell him thence; and Gods spirit is as the Air, that
admits no vacuity, no emptiness: destroy this kingdome of Satan in
your selves, and God will establish his, God will be content with his
place. Himselfe you cannot see; that's one degree of his tiranny, to
Reserve him selfe, and not be seen; for his deformities would make
ye hate him: but in his glasses in the riches, and in the vanities of this
world, you see him and know him not; you see him, and know him,
and embrace him. St. *Chrysostom* hath convinced you, in all that can
be sayd, for the love of this world; If thou wilt (says he) that I must
therfore look after worldly things, because they are necessary, *E
regione respondeo,* says he: Therefore thou needest not look after
them, because they are necessary: *Si essent superflua, non deberes
confidere quia sunt necessaria, non debes ambigere:* for that which is
more than necessary, thou shouldest not labour, and for that which
is necessary thou shouldst not doubt, for, whatsoever God does not
give thee, he knows was not necessary for thee, for he can make thee
happy without these temporal things, as his way in this text is, to re-
deem without money, which is our last circumstance.

Sine Argento

In delivering his people out of *Egypt,* he gave no money for them; nay, he made them get money and Jewels at their coming away. In delivering them out of *Babylon,* he brought them away rich; Here, in this redemption, it had been bribery to have given, in so good a cause: and it had been a new kind of *Simony,* never heard of, to give money for the exercise of their own grace. He gave no money then; not be-

[Psa. 24.1] cause he had it not; for *Domini est terra,* The earth and all in it, is his:

Joel 3.5 *ye have taken my silver, and my gold,* says God in one Prophet; and he

Agg. 2.[8] makes his continual claim, in another, *The silver is mine, and the gold is mine.* But it was God and not the devil, that was to be satisfied. In devillish trading there is no passing without money: in the Temple it self there were, In the Church and Church affaires there are, buyers, and sellers too; if there were no buyers there would be no sellers; but there was a third sort that was whiped out too; which were Changers. But in oure case it was God, that was to be satisfied; and therefore we

1 Pet. 1.[18 and 19] were not redeemed with corruptable things, as silver and gold, but with the precious blood of Christ.

Now this blood of Christ Iesus was not within the Compass of this word, which is here translated Money: though, as I noted at the begining, this word *Casaph* includes all that the heart can wish, or desire: for though the Application of the blood of Christ, now that is shed, is to be wished by every sinner to his own soul, Though the sheding of that blood might have been wished by the patriarchs, to whom God had revealed, that in the fullness of time it should be shed, and the second coming of Christ, and the Resurrection may be wished for, by us now, yet, if we take *Rem integram,* if we take the matter at first, without any such revealing of Gods purpose as he in his Scripture hath afforded us; so no man might have wished, or prayed, without a greater sin in that wish and in that prayer than all his former sins, that the Son of God might come down and dye for his sins: if it could possibly have fallen into his imagination, that this might have been a way for his redemption; yet he ought not to have wished that way: neither might it, neither certainly did it ever fall within the desire of any desparing sinner, that thought, that the death of Christ appertaind not to him, to wish that God the Father, or God the Holy Ghost, would come down, and become man and shed his blood for him. The blood of Christ by which we are redeemed was not this *Casaph,* it was

not *Res appetibilis,* a thing that a sinner might, or could desire to be shed for him, though being shed, he must desire, that it may be applied to him. And hence it is that some of the fathers argue, that when the Devill began to tempt Christ, he knew him not to be the Son of God: for even to the devil himself, the blood of Christ could not be *Res appetibilis,* a thing that deliberately he could have desired should have been shed. If the devil had considered, that the shedding of that blood, would have redeemed us, would he have hastned the shedding of that blood?

He redeemed us then without money; And as he bought so he sells: He paid no money, he asks no money: but he proclaims freely to all, *Ho every one that thirsteth come to the waters, and ye that have no silver, come, buy, and eat; come, I say, buy wine, and milk, without silver, and without money.* But you must come; and you must come to the market; to the Magazine of his graces, his Church; And you must buy, though you have no money: he paid obedience, and he asks obedience to himself, and his Church, at your hands. And then, as *Joseph* did to his brethren, he will give you your corn, and your money again; he will give you grace, and temporal blessings too: he will refresh and re-establish your natural faculties, and give you supernatural. He hath already done enough for all, even in his mercy, he was just; just to the Devil himself: for as we had done, so he did; he gave himself; both to the first death, as long as it could hold him, and to the second death, as far as it could reach him. But though all this be already done, yet, to conclude, there is a particular circumstance of Comfort, in this word, you shall be: that though the act of our redemption be past, the Application is future: and in the elect and regenerate child of God, though his conscience tells him every day, that he sels away himself, yet his conscience shall tell him too, he shall be redeemed without money, he shall not perish finally: as we cannot carry our thoughts to so high a time, but that God elected us, before that, so we cannot continue our sins of infirmity so long, but that God will have mercy upon us after that: I cannot name a time, when Gods love began, it is eternal, I cannot imagine a time, when his mercy will end, it is perpetual.

Esa. 55.[1]

[Gen. 42.25]

Number 2.

A Sermon Preached at White-hall, April 21. 1616.

ECCLES. 8.11. *BECAUSE SENTENCE AGAINST AN EVIL WORK, IS NOT EXECUTED SPEEDILY, THEREFORE THE HEART OF THE CHILDREN OF MEN, IS FULLY SET IN THEM, TO DO EVIL.*

Seneca

WE CANNOT take into our Meditation, a better Rule, then that of the Stoick, *Nihil infælicius fælicitate peccantium;* There is no such unhappiness to a sinner, as to be happy; no such cross, as to have no crosses: nor can we take a better Example of that Rule, then *Constantius* the *Arrian* Emperour, in whose time first of all, the Crosse of Christ suffer'd that profanation, as to be an Ensign of War, between Christian and Christian: When *Magnentius* by being an usurping Tyrant, and *Constantius* by being an *Arrian* Heretick, had forfeited their interest in the Cross of Christ, which is the Ensign of the universal Peace of this world, and the means of the eternal Peace of the next; both brought the Cross to cross the Cross, to be an Ensign of War, and of Hostility; both made that Cross, when the Father accepted for all mankinde, the blood of Christ Jesus, to be an instrument for the sinful effusion of the blood of Christians. But when this Heretical Emperour had a Victory over this usurping Tyrant, this unhappy happiness transported him to a greater sin, a greater insolence, to approach so near to God himself, as to call himself *Eternum principem,* The eternal Emperour; and to take into his stile, and Rescripts, this addition, *Eternitatem nostram,* Thus and thus, it hath pleased our Eternity to proceed: Yea, and to bring his *Arrian* followers, who would never acknowledge an eternity in Christ, nor confess him to be the eternal Son of God, to salute himself by that name, *Eternum Cæsarem,* The eternal Emperour: so venimous, so deadly is the prosperity of the

wicked to their own souls, that even from the mercy of God, they take occasion of sinning; not onely *Thereby,* but even *Therefore;* They do not only make that their excuse, when they do sin, but their Reason why they may sin; as we see in these words, *Because sentence against an evil work, is not executed speedily,* &c.

Divisio

In which words, we shall consider, first, The general perversness of a natural man, who by custom in sin, comes to assign a Reason why he may sin; intimated in the first word, *Because.* And secondly, The particular perversness of the men in this Text, who assign the patience of God, to be the Reason of their continuance in sin, *Because sentence is not executed speedily.* And then lastly, The illusion upon this, what a fearful state this shuts them up in, *That therefore their hearts are fully set in them, to do evil.* And these three, The perversness of colouring sins with Reasons, and the impotency of making Gods mercy the Reason, and the danger of obduration thereby, will be the three parts, in which we shall determine this Exercise.

Part I

First then, in handling the perversness of assigning Reasons for sins, we forbid no man the use of Reason in matters of Religion. As S. *Augustine* says, *Contra Scripturam, nemo Christianus,* No man can pretend to be a Christian, if he refuse to be tryed by the Scriptures: And, as he adds, *Contra Ecclesiam nemo pacificus,* No man can pretend to love order and Peace, if he refuse to be tryed by the Church: so he adds also, *Contra Rationem nemo sobrius,* No man can pretend to be in his wits, if he refuse to be tryed by Reason. He that believes any thing because the Church presents it, he hath Reason to assure him, that this Authority of the Church is founded in the Scriptures: He that believeth the Scriptures, hath Reasons that govern and assure him that those Scriptures are the Word of God. Mysteries of Religion are not the less believ'd and embrac'd by Faith, because they are presented, and induc'd, and apprehended by Reason.

But this must not enthrone, this must not exalt any mans Reason so far, as that there should lie an Appeal, from Gods Judgements to any mans reason: that if he see no reason, why God should proceed so, and so, he will not believe that to be Gods Judgement, or not believe that Judgement of God, to be just: For, of the secret purposes of God, we have an Example what to say, given us by Christ himself, *Ita est, quia complacuit; It is so, O Father, because thy good pleasure was such:* Mat. 11.26

All was in his own breast and bosome, in his own good will and pleasure, before he Decreed it; And as his Decree it self, so the wayes and Executions of his Decrees, are often unsearchable, for the purpose, and for the reason thereof, though for the matter of fact, they may be manifest. They that think themselves sharp-sighted and wise enough, to search into those unreveal'd Decrees; they who being but worms, will look into Heaven; and being the last of Creatures, who were made, will needs enquire, what was done by God, before God did any thing, for creating the World, *In ultimam dementiam ruerunt,* says
70 S. *Chrysostom,* They are fallen into a mischievous madness, *Et ferrum ignitum, quod forcipe deberent, digitis accipiunt:* They will needs take up red hot Irons, with their bare fingers, without tongs. That which is in the Center, which should rest, and lie still, in this peace, That it is so, because it is the will of God, that it should be so; they think to toss and tumble that up, to the Circumference, to the Light and Evidence of their Reason, by their wrangling Disputations.

If then it be a presumpteous thing, and a contempt against God, to submit his Decrees to the Examination of humane reason, it must be a high treason against the Majesty of God, to find out a reason in him,
80 which should justifie our sins; To conclude out of any thing which he does, or leaves undone, that either he doth not hate, or cannot punish sinners: For this destroys even the Nature of God, and that which the Apostle lays, for the foundation of all, *To believe that God is, and that he is a just Rewarder. Adam's quia Mulier, The woman whom thou gavest me, gave me the Apple:* And *Eve's quia Serpens, Because the Serpent deceiv'd me;* and all such, are poor and unallowable pleas, which God would not admit: For there is no *Quia,* no Reason, why any man, at any time, should do any sin. God never permits any perplexity to fall upon us, so, as that we cannot avoyd one sin, but by
90 doing another: or that we should think our self excusable by saying, *Quia inde minus malum,* There is less harm in a Concubine, then in anothers wife; Or, *Quia inde aliquod bonum,* That my incontinence hath produc'd a profitable man to the State or to the Church, though a bastard; much less to say, *Quia obdormivit Deus,* Tush, God sees it not, or cares not for it, though he see it.

Heb. 11.6
[Gen. 3.12]
[3.13]

If thou ask then, why thou should'st be bound to believe the Creation, we say, *Quia unus Deus,* Because there can be but one God; and

if the World be eternal, and so no Creature, the World is God. If thou ask why thou should'st be bound to believe Providence, we say, *Quia Deus remunerator,* Because God is to give every man according to his merits. If thou ask why thou should'st be bound to believe that, when thou seest he doth not give every man according to his merits, we say, *Quia inscrutabilia judicia ejus; O how unsearchable are his Judgements, and his ways past finding out!* For, thou art yet got no farther, in measuring God, but by thine own measure; and thou hast found no other reason to lead thee, to think, that God doth not govern well, but because he doth not govern so, to thine understanding, as thou shouldst, if thou wert God. So that thou dost not onely make thy weakness, but thy wickedness, that is, thy hasty disposition, to come to a present Revenge, when any thing offends thee, the Measure, and the Model, by which the frame of Gods Government should be erected; and so thou comest to the worst distemper of all, *insanire cum ratione,* to go out of thy wits, by having too much, and to be mad with too much knowledge; not to sin out of infirmity, or tentation, or heat of blood, but to sin in cold blood, and upon just reason, and mature considerations, and so deliberately and advisedly to continue to sin. [Rom. 11.33]

Now the particular reason, which the perversness of these men produceth here, in this Text, is, *Because God is patient and long-suffering.* So he is; so he will be still: Their perversness shall not pervert his Nature, his goodness. As God bade the Prophet *Osea* do, he hath done himself: *Go,* says he, *and take to thee, a wife of fornication, and children of fornication;* so hath he taken us, guilty of spiritual fornication. But as in the fleshly fornications of an adulterous wife, the husband is, for the most part, the last that hears of them: so, for our spiritual fornications, such is the loathness, the patience, the longanimity of our good and gracious God, that though he do know our sins, as soon as they speak, as soon as they are acted, (for that's *peccatum cum voce,* says S. *Gregory,* A speaking sin, when any sinful thought is produc'd into act) yea, before they speak, as soon as they are conceiv'd; yet he will not hear of our sins, he takes no knowledge of them, by punishing them, till our brethren have been scandaliz'd, and led into tentation by them; till his law have been evacuated, that that use of the law, which is, to shew sin to our consciences, be annihilated in us; till such Part. II 1.2

a Cry come up to him by our often and professed sinning, that it concerns him in his Honour, (which he will give to none) and in his Care of his Churches, which he hath promis'd to be, till the end of all, to take knowledge of them. Yea, though this Cry be come up to his Ears, though it be a lowd Cry, either by the nature of the sin, (as heavie things make a great noise in the moving) or by reason of the number of the sins, and the often doing thereof, (for, as many children, will make as great a noise as a loud Cryer; so will the custome of small sins Cry as loud, as those which are called *peccata clamantia,* Crying sins) Though this cry be encreased by this liberty, and professed sinning, that, as the Prophet sayes, *They declare their sins, and hide them not, as Sodom did;* Though the cry of the sin be increased by the cry of them, that suffer oppression by that sin, as well as by the sin it self, as the voice of *Abel*'s bloud cryed from earth to heaven; yea, though this cry ring about Gods ears, in his own bed-chamber, under the Altar it self, in that *Usquequo Domine?* when the Martyrs cry out with a loud voice, *How long, Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our bloud!* yet God would fain forbear his Revenge, he would fain have those Martyrs *rest for a little space, till their fellow-servants and their brethren were fulfilled.* God would try, what *Cain* would say to that Interrogatory, *Where is thy brother Abel?* And though the cry of *Sodom* were great, and their sin exceeding grievous, yet, says God, *I will go down, and see, whether they have done altogether according unto that cry; and if not, I may know:* God would have been glad to have found Errour in their Inditement; and when he could not, yet if Fifty, Fourty five, Thirty, Twenty, Ten, had been found righteous, he had pardoned all: *Adeo malum, quasi cum difficultate credidit, cum audivit;* So loth is God to believe ill of man, when he doth hear it.

Esa. 3.9

Gen. 4.10

[Psa. 90.13]

Revel. 6.10

[Revel. 6.11]

[Gen. 4.9]

[Gen. 18.21]

Gregory

Sententia

This then is his patience: But why is his patience made a reason of their continuance in sins? Is it because there is no sentence denounced against sin? These busie and subtile Extractors of Reasons, that can distil, and draw Poyson out of Manna, Occasions of sin, out of Gods Patience, will not say so, That there is no sentence denounced. The word that is here used, *Pithgam,* is not truly an Hebrew word: And though in the Book of *Job,* and in some other parts of the Hebrew Scriptures, we finde sometimes some forreign and out-landish word,

deriv'd from other Nations; yet, in *Solomons* writing very rarely; neither doth *Solomon* himself, nor any other Author, of any part of the Hebrew Bible, use this word, in any other place, then this one. The word is a *Chaldee* word; and hath amongst them, the same signification and largeness, as *Dabar* in Hebrew; and that includes all *A verbo ad legem;* from a word suddenly and slightly spoken, to words digested and consolidated into a Law. So that, though the Septuagint translate this place, *Quia non est facta contradictio;* as though the reason of this sinners obduration might have been, That God had not forbidden sin; and though the Chaldee Paraphrast express this place thus, *Quia non est factum verbum ultionis;* As though this sinner made himself believe, that God had never spoken word of revenge against sinners: yet, this sinner makes not that his reason, That there is no Law, no Judgement, no Sentence given: for, every Book of the Bible, every Chapter, every Verse almost, is a particular *Deuteronomy,* a particular renewing of the Law from Gods mouth, *Morte Morieris, Thou shalt die the death;* and of that Sentence from *Moses* mouth, *Pereundo peribitis, You shall surely perish;* and of that Judgement from the Prophets mouth, *Non est Pax impiis, There is no peace to the wicked.* And if this obdurate sinner could be such a *Goth* and *Vandal,* as to destroy all Records, all written Laws; if he could evacuate and exterminate the whole Bible, yet he would finde this Law in his own heart, this Sentence pronounced by his own Conscience, *Stipendium peccati Mors est,* Treason is Death, and sin is Treason.

[Gen. 2.17] [Deut. 8.19; 30.18] [Isa. 48.22] [Rom. 6.23]

His reason is not, That there is no Law; he sees it: nor that he knows no Law; his heart tells it him: nor that he hath kept that Law; his Conscience gives judgement against him: nor that he hath a Pardon for breaking that Law; for he never ask'd it: and, besides, those Pardons have in them that clause, *Ita quod se bene gerat;* Every Pardon bindes a man to the good behaviour; and by Relapses into sin, we forfeit our Pardons for former sins. All their Reason, all their Comfort, is onely a Reprieve, and a Respite of Execution: *Distulit Securim, attulit Securitatem:* God hath taken the Ax from their necks, and they have taken Security into their hearts; Sentence is not executed.

August.

Execution is the life of the Law; but then, it is the death of the Man: And therefore whosoever makes quarrels against God, or arguments of Obduration, out of this respite of Execution, would he be better

Executed

pleased with God, if God came to a speedy Execution? But let that be true, *Where there is no Execution, there is no reverence to the Law;* there is truly, and in effect, no Law: The Law is no more a Law without Execution, then a Carcase is a Man. And so much, certainly, the word, which is here rendred *sententia facta,* doth properly signifie; A Judgement perfected, executed. When *Esau* was born hairy, and so in the likeness of a grown and perfect man, he was call'd by the word of this text, *Gnesau, Esau, factus, perfectus.* And so, when God had perfected all his works, that is said then, *that he saw, that all was good that he had made;* where there is the same word, *That he had perfected.* So that, if the judgements of God had been still without execution; if all those Curses, *Cursed shalt thou be in the town, and cursed in the field; cursed in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy land, and in the fruit of thy cattel; cursed when thou comest in, and when thou goest out. The Lord shall send thee cursings, and trouble, and shame, in all thou setst thy hand to. The Lord shall make a pestilence cleave to thee, and a consumption, and a fever. The Lord shall make the heavens above, as brass, and the earth under thee, as iron;* all those Curses and Maledictions, with which he flings, and slings, and stings the soul of the sinner, so vehemently, so pathetically, in that catalogue of Comminations, and Interminations, in that place; if all these were never brought into execution, we should say, at best, of those Laws, and Judgements of God, as the Romane Lawyer did of that severe Law of the *Twelve Tables,* by which Law, he that was indebted to many men, and not able to pay, was to be cut in pieces, and divided proportionably amongst his Creditors, *Eo consilio tanta immanitas pœnae denuntiata est, ne ad eam unquam perveniretur:* Therefore so grievous a punishment was inflicted, that that Law might never come to execution: for, from the enacting of that Law, to the last times, in that government, there was never any example, of one execution of that Law: so we should say, That God laid those severe penalties upon sins, onely to deter men from doing them, and not with any purpose to inflict those penalties. In Laws, to the making whereof, there concurs, besides the authority of the Prince, the counsel and the consent of the Subject, there are sometimes Laws made, without any purpose of ordinary execution; of which, the Civil Wisdom, and the Religious Conscience, and the godly Moderation of the Prince, is made a De-

Gen. 25.25

Gen. 1. ult.

Deut. 28.15 [to 23]

pository, and a Feoffee in trust; and those Laws are onely put into his hands, as a Bridle, the better to rule and govern that great Charge committed to him, in emergent necessities, though not in an ordinary execution of those penal Laws. But who was a counsellor to God, or who inserted any Provisoes or Nonobstante's into his Laws? or who conditioned them, with any such reservations, that they should have no ordinary execution? And therefore an ordinary execution they have always had.

The reason why they are sometimes, and why they are not always executed, *St. Chrysostome* hath assign'd; *Si nullus puniretur, nemo existimaret Deum pre-esse rebus humanis; si omnes, nemo expectaret futuram resurrectionem:* If God should punish no sins here, no man would believe a God; and if God should presently punish all here, no man would be afraid of a future judgement. There the obdurate man may finde a reason of the manner of Gods proceeding, in the execution of his judgements: And if he dare stand the arguing of this case, out of Precedent, out of Record, out of the history of God, in his Word, he must hear heavie judgments denounced, and executed, in cases, where he would hardly discern any sin to have been committed, at least, no sin proportionable to that punishment. If he were in the case of *Ananias* and *Sapphira,* of having reserv'd a little of their own, whatsoever should befal, he would never see Counsel, nor petition the judge, never apprehend danger in this case; and yet, God declared by the mouth of *Peter,* that *Satan had filled their hearts,* and that *they had lyed to the holy Ghost;* and a heavie judgement of present death, was executed upon them both. If he had been of the Jury, for that man of God, who, though God had forbidden him to eat and drink in that place, yet, when an old Prophet came to him, and told him, that God had spoken to him by an Angel, that he should go with him, and eat, did go, and eat with him, he would have acquitted him of any offence herein; and yet Gods judgment overtook him, and he was slain by a lion. But if he will hear the case of *Saul,* who did but reserve some of the spoil, and that purchased with the bloud of the people, and that pretended to be reserved for Gods service, for sacrifice; and yet *Saul* heard that judgement, *Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and transgression is idolatry: because thou hast cast away the word of the Lord, therefore he hath cast thee away from being king.* If he will hear

Act. 5. [1–11]

[Acts 5.3]

1. Reg. 13

1 Sam. 15

Jos. 7 *Achan*'s case, who had taken an excommunicate thing to his own use, and the heavie judgement thereupon, *Inasmuch as thou has troubled us, the Lord shall trouble thee this day: and so, all Israel stoned him.*

1 Sam. 4 If he will hear *Helie*'s case, against whom, onely for indulgence to his sons, God prepar'd, and studied, and meditated judgements, and threatned beforehand, when he said to *Samuel, Behold, I will do a thing in Israel, whereof whosoever shall hear, his two ears shall tingle:* and so, soon after, upon the heavie news, that *Israel* was discomfited, that the Ark was taken, that his two sons were slain, *Heli fell from his seat, and broke his neck, and died.* If he remember *Oziah*'s case, who for putting his hand to the Ark, when it was ready to fall, felt the wrath of God, and died in the place. If he study all this Title, of Gods heavie judgements upon sins, not great in the outward appearance; and then come to them by the consideration of the nature of the first sin of our first parents, *Adam* and *Eve,* and findes there, such a lightness in that sin of eating forbidden fruit, that he durst do it, if it were to do again; as though it were no more to disobey God, when he forbade the eating of fruit, then to disobey his Physician in that point; and yet shall see the heavie judgement of God upon all posterity for that sin, (which he esteems so small a one) to extend so far, as that all his particular sins, even this very sin of undervaluing *Adam*'s sin, and his very sin of obduration, is but a punishment of *Adam*'s sin. If he shall climb by this ladder, to the highest step of all, from *Adam* in paradise, to the Angels in heaven, and see, that in those Angels, a sin onely of Omission, of a not turning toward God, (for there was no creature then to turn upon) in so pure Natures, and done but once, was so heavily punished, as that the bloud of Christ Jesus hath not washed it away; certainly the hardness, the flintiness of this obdurate sinner, must necessarily be so much mollified, so much entendred, as to confess, that he can make no good argument out of that, *That the judgements of God are not executed.*

2 Sam. 6. [1–8]

Speedily But yet, howsoever that be, they are not executed *speedily.* How desperate a state art thou in, if nothing will convert thee, but a speedie execution, after which, there is no possibility, no room left for a Conversion? God is *the Lord of hosts,* and he can proceed by Martial Law: he can hang thee upon the next tree; he can choak thee with a crum, with a drop, at a voluptuous feast; he can sink down the Stage and the

Player, The bed of wantonness, and the wanton actor, into the jaws of the earth, into the mouth of hell: he can surprise thee, even in the act of sin; and dost thou long for such a speedy execution, for such an expedition? Thou canst not lack Examples, that he hath done so upon others, and will no proof serve thee, but a speedy judgement upon thy self? Scatter thy thoughts no farther then, contract them in thy self, and consider Gods speedy execution upon thy soul, and upon thy body, and upon thy soul and body together. Was not Gods judgement executed speedily enough upon thy soul, when in the same instant that it was created, and conceiv'd, and infus'd, it was put to a necessity of contracting Original sin, and so submitted to the penalty of *Adam's* disobedience, the first minute? Was not Gods judgement speedily enough executed upon thy body, if before it had any temporal life, it had a spiritual death; a sinful conception, before any inanimation? If hereditary diseases from thy parents, Gouts and Epilepsies, were in thee, before the diseases of thine own purchase, the effects of thy licentiousness and thy riot; and that from the first minute that thou beganst to live, thou beganst to die too? Are not the judgements of God speedily enough executed upon thy soul and body together, every day, when as soon as thou commitst a sin, thou art presently left to thine Impenitence, to thine Insensibleness, and Obduration? Nay, the judgement is more speedy then so: for, that very sin it self, was a punishment of thy former sins.

But though God may begin speedily, yet he intermits again, he slacks his pace; and therefore the execution is not speedy. As it is said of *Pharaoh* often, Because the plagues ceased, (though they had been laid upon him) *Ingravatum est cor Pharaonis, Pharaoh's* heart was hardned. But first we see, by that punishment which is laid upon *Heli,* That with God it is all one, to begin, and to consummate his judgement: (*When I begin, I will make an end.*) And when *Herod* took a delight in that flattery and acclamation of the people, *It is the voice of God, and not of man; the angel of the Lord smote him immediately,* and the worms took possession of him, though (if we take *Josephus* relation for truth) he died not in five days after. Howsoever, if we consider the judgements of God in his purpose, and decree, there they are eternal: And for the execution thereof, though the wicked sinner dissemble his sense of his torments, and, as *Tertullian* says of a perse-

[Exod. 9.7

1 Sam. 3.1
Acts 12.22
[and 23]

cutor, *Herminianus,* who being tormented at his death, in his violent sickness, cryed out, *Nemo sciat, ne gaudeant Christiani,* Let no man know of my misery, lest the Christians rejoyce thereat: so these sinners suppress these judgements of God, from our knowledge, because they would not have that God, that inflicts them, glorified therein, by us: Yet they know, their damnation hath never slept, nor let them sleep quietly: and, in Gods purpose, the judgement hath been eternal, and they have been damned as long as the devil; and that's an execution speedy enough. But because this appears not so evidently, but that they may disguise it to the world, and (with much ado) to their own Consciences; Therefore *their hearts are fully set in them, to do evil.* And so we pass to our third Part.

Part III

This is that perversness, which the Heathen Philosopher *Epictetus,* apprehends, and reprehends; That whereas every thing is presented to us, *Cum duabus ansis,* with two handles, we take it still, by the wrong handle. This is *tortuositas serpentis,* The wryness, the knottiness, the entangling of the Serpent. This is that which the Apostle takes such direct knowledge of, *Despisest thou the riches of Gods bountifulness, and long-suffering, not knowing that it leads thee to repentance?* St. *Chrysostome*'s comparison of such a sinner to a Vulture, that delights onely in dead carcases, that is, in company dead in their sins, holds best, as himself notes, in this particular, that the Vulture *perhorrescit fragrantiam unguenti,* He loaths, and is ill affected with any sweet savour: for so doth this sinner finde death, in that soveraign Balm of the patience of God, and he dies of Gods mercy: *Et quid infelicius illis, qui bono odore moriuntur?* says S. *Augustine:* In what worse state can any man be, then to take harm of a good air? But, as the same Father addes, *Numquid quia mori voluisti, malum fecisti odorem?* This indisposition in that particular man, does not make this air, an ill air; and yet this abuse of the patience of God, comes to be an infectious poyson, and such a poyson, as strikes the heart; and so general, as to strike the heart of *the children of men;* and so strongly, as that their hearts should be *fully set in them, to do evil.*

Rom. 2.4

First then, what is this *setting of the heart upon evil;* and then, what is this *fulness,* that leaves no room for a Cure? When a man receives figures and images of sin, into his Fancie and Imagination, and leads them on to his Understanding and Discourse, to his Will, to his Consent, to his Heart, by a delightful dwelling upon the meditation of that

sin; yet this is not *a setting of the heart upon doing evil.* To be surpris'd by a Tentation, to be overthrown by it, to be held down by it for a time, is not it. It is not when the devil looks in at the window to the heart, by presenting occasions of tentations, to the eye; nor when he comes in at the door to our heart, at the ear, either in lascivious discourses, or Satyrical and Libellous defamations of other men: It is not, when the devil is put to his Circuit, to *seek whom he may devour,* and how he may corrupt the King by his Council, that is, The Soul by the Senses: But it is, when by a habitual custom in sin, the sin arises meerly and immediately from my self: It is, when the heart hath usurp'd upon the devil, and upon the world too, and is able and apt to sin of it self, if there were no devil, and if there were no outward objects of tentation: when our own heart is become *spontanea insania, & voluntarius dæmon,* Such a wilful Madness, and such a voluntary and natural Devil to it self, as that we should be ambitious, though we were in an Hospital; and licentious, though we were in a wilderness; and voluptuous, though in a famine: so that such a mans heart, is as a land of such Gyants, where the Children are born as great, as the Men of other nations grow to be; for those sins, which in other men have their birth, and their growth, after their birth, they begin at a Concupiscence, and proceed to a Consent, and grow up to Actions, and swell up to Habits; In this man, sin begins at a stature and proportion above all this; he begins at a delight in the sin, and comes instantly to a defence of it, and to an obduration and impenitibleness in it: This is the evil of the heart, by the mis-use of Gods grace, to devest and lose all tenderness and remorse in sin.

[1 Pet. 5.8]

Chrysost.

Now for the Incurableness of this heart, it consists first in this, that there is a fulness, It is *fully set to do evil:* and such a full heart hath no room for a Cure; as a full stomack hath no room for Physick. The Mathematician could have removed the whole world with his Engine, if there had been any place to have set his Engine in. Any man might be cur'd of any sin, if his heart were not full of it, and *fully set upon it:* which *setting,* is indeed, in a great part, an unsetledness, when the heart is in a perpetual motion, and in a miserable indifferencie to all sins: it may be *fully set upon* sin, though it be not vehemently affected to any one sin. The reason which is assign'd, why the heart of man, if it receive a wound, is incurable, is the palpitation, and the continual motion of the heart: for, if the heart could lie still, so that fit

things might be applyed to it, and work upon it, all wounds in all parts of the heart, were not necessarily mortal: So, if our hearts were not distracted, in so many forms, and so divers ways of sin, it might the better be cur'd of any one. St. *Augustine* had this apprehension, when he said, *Audeo dicere utile esse cadere in aliquod manifestum peccatum, ut sibi displiceant:* It is well for him, that is indifferent to all sins, if he fall into some such misery by some one sin, as brings him to a sense of that, and of the rest. St. *Augustine,* when he says this, says he speaks boldly in saying so, *Audeo dicere:* but we may be so much more bold, as to say further, That that man had been damn'd, if he had not sinn'd that sin: For the heart of the indifferent sinner bayts at all that ever rises, at all forms and images of sin: *when he sees a thief, he runs with him; and with the adulterer he hath his portion:* and as soon as it contracts any spiritual disease, any sin, it is presently, not onely *in morbo acuto,* but *in morbo complicato;* in a sharp disease, and in a manifold disease, a disease multiplied in it self. Therefore it is, as St. *Gregory* notes, that the Prophet proposes it, as the hardest thing of all, for a sinner to return to his own heart, and to finde out that, after it is strayed, and scattered upon so several sins. *Redite prevaricatores ad cor,* says the Prophet: and, says that Father, *Longe eis mittit, cum ad cor redire compellit:* God knows whither he sends them, when he sends them to their own heart: for, since it is true which the same Father said, *Vix sancti inveniunt cor suum,* The holyest man cannot at all times finde his own heart, (his heart may be bent upon Religion, and yet he cannot tell in which Religion; and upon Preaching, and yet he cannot tell which Preacher; and upon Prayer, and yet he shall finde strayings and deviations in his Prayer) much more hardly is the various and vagabond heart of such an indifferent sinner, to be found by any search. If he enquire for his heart, at that Chamber where he remembers it was yesterday, in lascivious and lustful purposes, he shall hear that it went from thence to some riotous Feasting, from thence to some Blasphemous Gaming, after, to some Malicious Consultation of entangling one, and supplanting another; and he shall never trace it so close, as to drive it home, that is, to the consideration of it self, and that God that made it; nay, scarce to make it consist in any one particular sin. That which St. *Bernard* fear'd in *Eugenius,* when he came to be Pope, and so to a distraction of many worldly businesses, may much more be fear'd in a distraction of many

Psal. 50.[18]

Esa. 46.[8]

sins, *Cave ne te trahant, quo non vis;* Take heed lest these sins carry thee farther, then thou intendest: thou intendest but Pleasure, or Profit; but the sin will carry thee farther: *Quæris quo?* says that Father; Dost thou ask whither? *Ad cor durum,* To a senslesness, a remorslesness, a hardness of heart: *nec pergas quærere,* (says he) *quid illud sit;* Never ask what that hardness of heart is: for, if thou know it not, thou hast it.

This then is the *fulness,* and so the Incurableness of the heart, by that reason of perpetual motion; because it is in perpetual progress from sin to sin, he never considers his state. But there is another fulness intended here, That he is come to a full point, to a consideration of his sin, and to a station and setledness in it, out of a foundation of Reason, as though it were, not onely an excusable, but a wise proceeding, *Because Gods judgements are not executed.* But when man becomes to be thus *fully set,* God shall set him faster: *Iniquitas tua in sacculo signata;* His transgression shall be sealed up in a bag, and God shall sow up his iniquity: And, *Quid cor hominis nisi sacculus Dei?* What is this bag of God, but the heart of that sinner? There, as a bag of a wretched Misers money, which shall never be opened, never told till his death, lies this bag of sin, this frozen heart of an impenitent sinner; and his sins shall never be opened, never told to his own Conscience, till it be done to his final condemnation. God shall suffer him to settle, where he hath chosen to settle himself, in an unsensibleness, an unintelligibleness, (to use *Tertullian's* word) of his own condition: And, *Quid miserior misero non miserante seipsum?* Who can be more miserable then that man, who does not commiserate his own misery? How far gone is he into a pitiful estate, that neither desires to be pitied by others, nor pities himself, nor discerns that his state needs pity? *Invaluerat ira tua super me, & nesciebam,* says blessed St. *Augustine:* Thy hand lay heavie upon me, and I found it not to be thy hand: because the Maledictions of God are honeyed and candied over, with a little crust or sweetness of worldly ease, or reprieve, we do not apprehend them in their true taste, and right nature. *Obsurdueram stridore catenarum mearum,* says the same Father: The jingling and ratling of our Chains and Fetters, makes us deaf: The weight of the judgement takes away the sense of the judgement. This is *the full setting of the heart to do evil,* when a man fills himself with the liberty of passing into any sin, in an indifferencie; and then findes no reason

Job. 14.17

Gregor.

Aug.

why he should leave that way, either by the love, or by the fear of God. If he prosper by his sin, then he findes *no reason;* if he do not prosper by it, yet he findes *a wrong reason.* If unseasonable flouds drown his Harvest, and frustrate all his labours, and his hopes; he never findes, that his oppressing, and grinding of the Poor, was any cause of those waters, but he looks onely how the Winde sate, and how the ground
Ezek. 14.14 lay; and he concludes, that if *Noah,* and *Job,* and *Daniel* had been there, their labour must have perished, and been drown'd, as well as his. If a vehement Fever take hold of him, he remembers where he sweat, and when he took cold; where he walked too fast, where his Casement stood open, and where he was too bold upon Fruit, or meat of hard digestion; but he never remembers the sinful and naked Wantonnesses, the profuse and wasteful Dilapidations of his own body, that have made him thus obnoxious and open to all dangerous Distempers. Thunder from heaven burns his Barns, and he says, What luck was this? if it had fallen but ten foot short or over, my barns had been safe: whereas his former blasphemings of the Name of God, drew down that Thunder upon that house, as it was his; and that Lightning could no more fall short or over, then the Angel which was sent to *Sodom,* could have burnt another Citie, and have spar'd that; or then the Plagues of *Moses* and of *Aaron* could have fallen upon *Goshen,* and have spar'd *Egypt.* His Gomers abound with Manna, he overflows with all for necessities, and with all delicacies, in this life; and yet he findes worms in his Manna, a putrefaction, and a mouldring away, of this abundant state; but he sees not that that is, because his Manna was gathered upon the Sabbath, that there were profanations of the Name and Ordinances of God, mingled in his means of growing rich. To end all, This is the true Use that we are to make of the long-suffering and patience of God, That when his patience ends, ours may begin: That if he forbear others rather then us, we do not ex-
21.7 postulate, as in *Job, Wherefore do the wicked live, and become old, and grow mighty in power?* but rather, if he chastise us rather then
Psal. 44.18 [and 19] others, say with *David, Our heart is not turned back, neither have our steps declined from thy ways, though thou hast sore broken us, in the place of dragons, and covered us with the shadow of death:* and that if *sentence be executed* upon us, we may make use of his judgement; and if not, we may continue, and enlarge his mercies towards us. *Amen.*

Number 3.

A Sermon Preached at Pauls Cross to the Lords of the Council, and other Honorable Persons, 24. Mart. 1616. [1616/17]

It being the Anniversary of the Kings coming to the Crown, and his Majesty being then gone into Scotland

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PROVERBS 22.11. *HE THAT LOVETH PURENESS OF HEART, FOR THE GRACE OF HIS LIPS, THE KING SHALL BE HIS FRIEND.*

THAT MAN that said it was possible to carve the faces of all good Kings that ever were, in a Cherry-stone, had a seditious, and a trayterous meaning in his words. And he that thought it a good description, a good Character of *good subjects,* that they were *Populus natus ad servitutem,* A people disposed to bear any slavish yoak, had a tyrannical meaning in his words. But in this Text, as in one of those Tables, in which, by changing the station, and the line, you use to see two pictures, you have a good picture of a good King, and of a good subject; for in one line, you see such a subject, as *Loves pureness of heart,* and *hath grace in his lips.* In the other line, you see the King gracious, yea friendly to such a subject, *He that loveth pureness of heart, for the grace of his lips, the King shall be his friend.* The sum of the words, is, that God will make an honest man acceptable to the King, for some ability, which he shall employ to the publike. Him that proceeds sincerely in a lawful calling, God will bless and prosper, and he will seal this blessing to him, even with that which is his own seal, his own image, the favor of the King, *He that loveth pureness of heart, for the grace of his lips, the King shall be his friend.*

We will not be curious in placing these two pictures, nor considering which to consider first. As he that would vow a fast, till he had

found in nature, whether the Egge, or the Hen were first in the world, might perchance starve himself; so that King, or that subject, which would forbear to do their several duties, till they had found which of them were most necessary to one another, might starve one another; for, King and subjects are Relatives, and cannot be considered in execution of their duties, but together. The greatest Mystery in Earth, or Heaven, which is *the Trinity,* is conveyed to our understanding, no other way, then so, as they have reference to one another *by Relation,* as we say in the Schools; for, God could not be a father without a Son, nor the Holy Ghost *Spiratus sine spirante.* As in Divinity, so in Humanity too, *Relations* constitute one another, King and subject come at once and together into consideration. Neither is it so pertinent a consideration, which of them was made for others sake, as that they were both made for Gods sake, and equally bound to advance his glory.

Divisio Here in our Text, we finde the subjects picture first; And his Marks are two; first, *Pureness of Heart,* That he be an *honest* Man; And then *Grace of lips,* that he be good for something; for, by this phrase, *Grace of lips,* is expressed every ability, to do any office of society for the Publike good. The first of these, *Pureness of heart,* he must *love;* The other, that is, *Grace of lips* (that is, other Abilities) he must *have,* but he must not be in love with them, nor over-value them. In the Kings picture, the principal marke is, That he shall be friendly and gracious; but gracious to him that hath this *Grace of lips,* to him that hath endeavored, in some way, to be of use to the Publike; And, not to him neither, for all the grace of his lips, for all his good parts, except he also *love pureness of heart;* but, *He that loveth pureness of heart* (There's the foundation) *for the grace of his lips* (There's the upper-building) *the King shall be his friend.*

Part. 1 *Puritas* In the first then, which is this Pureness of heart, we are to consider *Rem, sedem, & Modum; what* this Pureness is, Then *where* it is to be lodged and fixed, In the heart; and, after that, the way, and means by which this Pureness of heart is acquired and preserved, which is implyed and notified in that Affection, wherewith this pureness of heart is to be embraced and entertained, which is *love;* For, Love is so noble, so soveraign an Affection, as that it is due to very few things, and very few things worthy of it. Love is a Possessory Affection, it delivers over him that loves into the possession of that that he loves; it is a trans-

mutatory Affection, it changes him that loves, into the very nature of that that he loves, and he is nothing else.

For the first, *Pureness* it self; It is carried to a great heighth, for our imitation (God knows, too great for our imitation) when Christ bids us *be perfect, even as our Father which is in heaven is perfect.* As though it had not been perfectness enough, to be perfect, as *the Son upon earth* was perfect; he carries us higher, *Be perfect as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.* The Son, upon Earth, *Christ Jesus,* had all our infirmities, and imperfections upon him, hunger, and weariness, and hearty sorrow to death, and that, which alone is All, Mortality, Death it self. And, though he were Innocence it self, and knew no sin, yet there was no sin that he knew not, for, all our sins were his. He was not onely made Man, and by taking (by *Admitting,* though not by Committing) our sins, as well as our nature, *sinful* Man; but he was made *sin* for our sakes. And therefore, though he say of himself, *sicut ego, Keep my Commandements, even as I have kept my Fathers Commandements,* yet still he refers all originally to the Father; and because he was under our infirmities and our iniquities, he never says (though he might well have said so) *sicut ego,* Be pure, be perfect as I am perfect and pure, but *sicut Pater,* be pure as your Father in heaven is pure. Hand to hand with the Father, Christ disclaims himself, disavows himself, *Non sicut ego, Nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt, O Father.* We are not referr'd for the pattern of our purity (though we might be safely) to him that came from heaven, The Son, but to him which is in heaven, The Father. Nor to *the Sun* which is in heaven (the Sun, that is the pure fountain of all natural light) nor to the Angels which are in heaven, though they be pure in their Nature, and refined by a continual emanation of the beams of glory upon them, from the face of God, but, the Father which is in heaven is made the pattern of our purity; That so, when we see the exact purity, which we should aim at, and labor for, we might the more seriously lament, and the more studiously endeavor the amendment of that extreme and enormous fouleness and impurity, in which we who should be pure, as our Father which is in heaven is pure, exceed *the dog* that turns to his own vomit again; and *the Sow,* that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire.

Res

Mat. 5.48

John 15.10

Mat. 26.39

2 Pet. 2.22

Yet there is no foulness so foul, so inexcusable in the eys of God,

nor that shall so much aggravate our condemnation, as a false affectation, and an hypocrical counterfeiting of this Purity. There is a Pureness, a cleanness imagin'd (rather dream't of) in the *Romane Church,* by which (as their words are) the soul is abstracted, not onely *â Passionibus,* but *â Phantasmatibus,* not onely from passions, and perturbations, but from the ordinary way of coming to know any thing; The soul (say they) of men so purified, understands no longer, *per phantasmata rerum corporalium;* not by having any thing presented by the fantasie to the senses, and so to the understanding, but altogether by a familiar conversation with God, and an immediate revelation from God; whereas Christ himself contented himself with the ordinary way; He was hungry, and a fig-tree presented it self to him upon the way, and he went to it to eat. This is that Pureness in the *Romane Church,* by which the founder of the last Order amongst them, *Philip Nerius,* had not onely utterly emptied his heart of the world, but had fill'd it too full of God; for, so (say they) he was fain to cry sometimes, *Recede a me Domine,* O Lord go farther from me, and let me have a less portion of thee. But who would be loath to sink, by being overfraited with God, or loath to over-set, by having so much of that winde, the breath of the Spirit of God? Privation of the presence of God, is Hell; a diminution of it, is a step toward it. Fruition of his presence is Heaven; and shall any Man be afraid of having too much Heaven, too much God? There are many among them, that are over laden, oppressed with *Bishopricks* and *Abbeys,* and yet they can bear it and never cry, *Retrahe domine, domine Resume,* O Lord withdraw from me, *Resume* to thy self some of these superabundancies; and shall we think any of them to be so over-fraited and surcharg'd with the presence, and with the grace of God, as to be put to his *Recede domine,* O Lord withdraw thy self, and lessen thy grace towards me? This Pureness is not in their heart, but in their fantasie.

Mat. 21.20 [18–20]

Congrega. Orator.

Catharistæ

We read in the Ecclesiastick story of such a kinde of affectation of singularity, very early in the primitive Church. We finde two sorts of false *Puritans* then; The *Catharists,* and The *Cathari.* The *Catharists* thought no creatures of God pure, and therefore they brought in strange ceremonial purifications of those Creatures. In which error, they of the *Romane Church* succeed them, in a great part, in their *Exorcismes,* and *Consecrations;* Particularly in the greatest matter of

all, in the *Sacraments*. For, the *Catharists* in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour, thought not the bread pure, except it were purified by the aspersion of something issuing from the body of man, not fit to be nam'd here; And so, in the *Romane Church,* they induc'd a use of another Excrement in the other Sacrament, They must have *spittle* in the Sacrament of Baptisme. For, in those words of *Tertullian, In Baptismo Dæmones respuimus,* In Baptism we Renounce the Devil, they will admit no other interpretation of the *Respuimus,* but that *Respuere,* is *sputo detestari,* That we can drive the Devil away, no way, but by spitting at him; Their predecessors in this, the *Catharists,* thought no Creatures pure, and therefore purified them, by abhominable, and detestable ways.

Tertul.

Durantius de ritib 1.1.19 n. 30

The second sort of primitive *Puritans,* the *Cathari,* They thought no men pure but themselves, and themselves they thought so pure, as to have no sin; and that therefore they might and so did, leave out, as an impertinent clause in the Lords prayer, that petition, *Dimitte nobis debita nostra,* for, they thought they ought God nothing. In natural things, *Monsters* have no propagation; A Monster does not beget a Monster. In spiritual excesses it is otherwise; for, for this second kinde of Puritans, that attribute all purity to themselves, and spend all their thoughts upon considering others, that weed hath grown so far, that whereas those Puritans of the Primitive Church did but refuse to say, *Dimitte nobis, Forgive us our trespasses,* because they had no sin, the *Puritan Papist* is come to say, *Recede a nobis,* O Lord stand farther off, for I have too much of thee. And whereas the Puritan of the primitive Church did but refuse one Petition of the Lords prayer, *the later puritan amongst our selves* hath refused the whole Prayer. Towards both these sorts of false puritans, *Catharists,* and *Cathari,* derived down to our time, we acknowledge those words of the Apostle to belong, *Reprove, Rebuke, Exhort;* that is, leave no such means untryed, as may work upon their Understandings, and remove their just scruples; Preach, write, confer; But when that labor hath been bestow'd, and they sear up their Understanding against it, so that the fault lies not then in the darkness of their Understanding, but meerly in the perversness of the will, over which faculty other men have no power, towards both these sorts, we acknowledge those other words of the Apostle to belong too, *Utinam abscindantur, Would to God,*

Cathari

2 Tim. 4.2

Gal. 5.12

they were even cut off that disquiet you; Cut off, that is, removed from means by which, and from places in which, they might disquiet you. These two kinds of false Puritans we finde in the Primitive Church; And Satan, who lasts still, makes them last still too. But if we shall imagine a third sort of Puritans, and make men afraid of the zeal of the glory of God, make men hard, and insensible of those wounds that are inflicted upon Christ Jesus, in blasphemous oaths, and execrations, make men ashamed to put a difference between *the Sabbath* and
1 Cor. 11.16 an ordinary day, and so, at last make sin an indifferent matter, *If any man list to be contentious we have no such custome, neither the Church of God.* The Church of God encourages them, and assists them in that sanctity, that purity, with all those means wherewith Christ Jesus hath trusted her, for the advancement of that purity; and professes that she prefers in her recommendations to God, in her prayers, one Christian truly fervent and zealous, before millions of Luke-
Mat. 23.25 warme. Onely she says, in the voice of Christ Jesus her head, *Wo be unto you, if you make clean the outside of cups and platters, but leave them full of extortion, and excess within.* Christ calls them to whom he says that, blinde Pharisees, if they have done so; If they think to blinde others, Christ calls them blinde. But if their purity consist in studying and practising the most available means to sanctification, and in obedience to lawful authority established according to Gods Ordinance, and in acquiescence in fundamental doctrines, believed in the ancient Church to be necessary to salvation, If they love the peace
Num. 23.10 of conscience, and the peace of *Sion,* as *Balaam* said, *Let me dye the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his;* So I say, let me live the life of a *Puritan,* let the zeal of the house of God consume me, let a holy life, and an humble obedience to the Law, testifie my reverence to God in his Church, and in his Magistrate: For, this is Saint
1 Tim. 1.5 *Pauls Puritan,* To have *a pure heart* (*The end of the commandment*
[1 Tim.] 2.8 *is love, out of a pure heart*) And then to have *pure hands* (*That we may lift up pure hands, without wrath or doubting*) And to have *pure*
[1 Tim.] 3.9 *consciences (Having the mystery of faith in pure consciences.) The heart* is the fountain from which my good and holy purposes flow; *My hand* is the execution and Declaration of those good purposes, produc'd into the eyes of men; and *my conscience* is the testification of the Spirit of God with my spirit, that I have actually made those

declarations, that I have liv'd according to that profession. This is Saint *Pauls* Puritan, Pure in Heart, pure in Hand, pure in Conscience; That I do believe I ought to do this; That really I do it; That my conscience tell me after, it was rightly done; for, a man may do good, ill, and go by *ill ways,* to *good ends.* And then, if our purity be but *comparative* and not *positive,* that we onely look how ill other men be, not how good we should be, we shall become either *Catharists, purifying Puritans,* quarrelling with men, with States, with Churches, and attempting a purifying of Sacraments, and Ceremonies, Doctrine and Discipline, according to our own fancy; Or *Cathari, purified puritans,* that think they may leave out the *Dimitte debita,* they need ask no forgiveness. And then, *Cains major iniquitas* (my sin is too great for God to forgive) is not worse then this *minor iniquitas,* My sin is too little for God to consider; I cannot have a pardon, and I do not need a pardon, It is impossible for me to get it, and it is unnecessary for me to ask it, are equal contempts against the Majesty and Mercy of God. But this first consideration (The nature of this pureness) enlarges it self by flowing into the second branch of this first part, that is, *The place* where this pureness is established, *The Heart: He that loves pureness of Heart, the King shall be his friend.*

Gen. 4.13

Locus Cor

Absolute pureness cannot be attained to *In via,* It is reserved for us *In Patria;* At home in heaven, not in our journey here, is that pureness to be expected. But yet here in the way, there is a degree of it, acceptable to God; of which himself speaks, and there it may be had; *Blessed are the pure in heart* (so the pureness be placed there, all's well) *for they shall see God.* Whether that sight of God be spoken *De cognitione Dei,* of that sight of God, which we have here *In speculo,* in a glass, in that true glass of his own making, his word explicated in the Church; or *de visione Beatifica,* of that beatifical vision of God, which is salvation, howsoever the reward (the sight of God) in the perfect fruition thereof may be reserved for the future (*They shall see God*) yet they are pure, and they are blessed already, *Blessed are the pure in heart.* This pureness then must be rightly plac'd; for, in many things, the place qualifies and denominates the things; it is not *Balsamum* if it grew not in Palestine. It is not pureness, if it grew not in the Heart. The Hypocrite is the miserablest of all other; he does God service, and yet is damned. The shedding of our blood for God is not a greater

Mat. 5.8

1 Cor. 13.12

service then the winning of souls to God; and the Hypocrite many times does that; his outward purity works upon them who cannot know it to be counterfeit, and draws them truely and sincerely to serve God. He does God service, and yet perishes, because he does it not
1 Reg. 14.10 from the heart. God shall take him away, *as a man taketh away dung, till it be all gone*. God does not say there, that he will take away the dunge, but the man; not that he will take away the Dissimulation of
250 the Hypocrite, but he will take away the Hypocrite himself, as dunge is taken away, till it be all gone, till this Hypocrite be swept, not clean, but clean away. If he have a complacency, a joy that he can deceive,
Job 20.5 and can seem that which he is not (*The joy of the Hypocrite is but for a moment*) He hath no true joy at all; his joy is but dunge, and in a moment comes a Cart, and fetches away that dunge, sweeps away even
[Job] 8.13 that false joy. Can he hope for more? (*The Hope of the Hypocrite shall perish*) If he can conceive such a hope, it shall perish in abortion,
[Job] 11.20 and never have life (*Their Hope shall be as the giving up of the Ghost.*) As soon as it is a Hope, it shall be as the giving up of the
260 Ghost, and a Cart shall carry away that dunge, that Hope. What Cart? first, God shall disappoint his Hope of deluding the world; God shall
[Job] 34.30 discover him, and lay him open (*That the Hypocrites reign not, lest the people be ensnar'd.*) And then, when God hath discovered him
[Job] 17.8 *The innocent shall stir up himself against the Hypocrite,* that is, consider him, observe him, and arm himself against his imaginations. And God shall not onely discover him to men, but God shall discover
Esa. 33.14 himself to him, and make him see his future condemnation (*Fearfulness shall surprize the Hypocrite.*) And then *What is the hope of the*
Job. 27.8 *Hypocrite, when God taketh away his soul;* when the Cart comes for
270 the last load of dunge, his corrupt, his putrified soul, what hope hath the Hypocrite for the next life?

It is not pureness then, except it be in the right place, the heart; But
Jer. 17.9 where is the heart? The heart is *vafrum & inscrutabile, Deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked, who can know it?* It is uncertain and unsearchable; And it is so, because it pursues those things which are *in fluxu,* ever in motion. Cast but a paper into the river, and fix thine eye upon that paper, and binde thine eye to follow that paper whithersoever the river, or the winde shall carry it, and thou canst not imagine where thine eye will be to morrow: For, this paper

is not addressed, as a ship, to a certain port, or upon any certain purpose, but expos'd to the disposition of the tyde, to the rage of the winde, to the wantonness of the Eddy, and to innumerable contingencies, till it wear out to nothing. So, if a man set his heart (we cannot call it a setting) if a man suffer his heart to issue upon any of these fluid and transitory things of this world, he shall have *cor vafrum, & inscrutabile,* He shall not know where to finde his own heart. If *Riches* be this floating paper that his eye is fixed upon, he shall not know upon what course; If *Beauty* be this paper, he shall not know upon what face; If *Honor* and *preferment* be it, he shall not know upon what faction his heart will be transported a month hence. But, if the heart can fix it self upon that which is fixt, the Almighty and immoveable God, if it can be content to inquire after it self, and take knowledge where it is, and in what way, it will finde the means of cleansing; And so, this second consideration, The placing of this pureness in the heart, enlarges it self also into the third branch of this part, which is *De Modo,* by what means this pureness is fix'd in the heart, in which is involved the Affection with which it must be embrac'd, *Love, He that loveth pureness of heart.*

Modus

Both these then are setled; Our heart is naturally foul; And our heart may be cleansed. But how, is our present disquisition, *Who can bring a clean thing out of filthiness? There is not one: Adam* foul'd my heart and all yours; nor can we make it clean our selves, *Who can say I have made clean my heart?* There is but one way; a poor beggarly way, but easie and sure, to ask it of God. And, even to God himself it seems a hard work to cleanse this heart; and therefore our prayer must be with *David, Cor mundum crea, Create, O Lord, a pure heart in me.* And then comes Gods part, not that Gods part begun but then; for it was his doing, that thou madest this prayer; but because it is a work that God does especially delight in, to build upon his own foundations; when he hath disposed thee to pray, and upon that prayer created a new heart in thee, then God works upon that new heart, and *By faith purifyes it,* enables it to preserve the pureness, as Saint *Peter* speaks. He had kindled some sparks of this faith in thee, before thou askedst that new heart; else the prayer had not been of faith; but now finding thee obsequious to his beginnings, he fuels this fire, and purifies thee, as Gold and Silver, in all his furnaces; through *Believing* and

Job 14.4

Pro. 20.9

Psal. 51.10. [10 : 12 *F* as in *Vulg.*]

Act. 15.9

Doing, and *suffering,* through *faith,* and *works,* and *tribulation,* we come to this pureness of heart. And truely, he that lacks but the last, but Tribulation (as fain as we would be without it) lacks one concoction, one refining of this heart.

Cor Novum

But, in this great work, the first act is a *Renovation,* a new heart; and the other, That we keep clean that heart by a continual diligence, and vigilancy over all our particular actions. In these two consists the whole work of purifying the heart; first, an Annihilating of the former heart, which was all sin; And then a holy superintendency over that new heart, which God vouchsafes to create in us, to keep it as he gives it, clean, pure. It is, in a word, a Detestation of former sins, and a prevention of future. And for the first, *Mundi corde sunt, qui deposuere cor peccati;* That's the new heart that hath disseised, expelled the heart of sin. There is in us a heart of sin, which must be cast up; for whilst the heart is under the habits of sin, we are not onely sinful, but we are *all sin;* as it is truly said, that land overflow'd with sea, is *all sea.* And when sin hath got a heart in us, it will quickly come to be that whole *Body of Death,* which Saint *Paul* complains of, who shall deliver me from the Body of this Death? when it is a heart, it will get a *Braine;* a Brain that shall minister all *Sense,* and *Delight* in sin; That's the office of the Brain; A Brain which shall send forth sinews and ligaments, to tye sins together; and pith and marrow to give a succulencie, and nourishment, even to the bones, to the strength and obduration of sin; and so it shall do all those services, and offices for sin, that the brain does to the natural body. So also if sin get to be a heart, it will get a *liver* to carry blood and life through all the body of our sinful actions; That's the office of the liver; And whilst we dispute whether the throne and seat of the soul be in the Heart, or Brain, or Liver, this tyrant sin will præoccupate all, and become all; so, as that we shall finde nothing in us without sin, nothing in us but sin, if our heart be possesst, inhabited by it. And if it be true in our natural bodies, that the heart is that part that lives first and dyes last, it is much truer of this *Cor peccati,* this heart of sin; for, this hearty sinner that hath given his heart to his sin, doth no more foresee a Death of that sin in himself, then he remembers the Birth of it; and, because he remembers not, or understands not how his soul contracted sin, by coming into his body, he leaves her to the same ignorance, how she shall discharge her self of

Chromakus Anno 390

Rom. 7.24

sin, when she goes out of that body. But, as his sin is elder then himself (for *Adams* sin is his sin) so is it longer liv'd then his body, for it shall cleave everlastingly to his soul too. God asks no more of thee, but, *Fili da mihi cor, My son give me thy heart;* Because when God gave it thee, it was but one heart. But since thou hast made it *Cor & cor* (as the Prophet speaks) a Heart, and a Heart, a double Heart, give both thy Hearts to God; thy natural weakness and disposition to sin (The inclinations of thy heart) And thy habitual practise of sin, (The obduration of thy heart) *cor peccans,* and *Cor peccati,* and he shall create a new heart in thee; which is the first way of attaining this pureness of heart, to become once in a good state, to have (as it were) paid all thy former debts, and so to be the better able to look about thee for the future, for prevention of subsequent sins, which is the other way that we proposed for attaining this pureness, detestation of former habits, watchfulness upon particular actions.

Prov. 23.26

[Hos. 10.2]

Peccata Minutiora

Till this be done, till this *Cor peccati,* this hearty habitualness in sin be devested, there is no room, no footing to stand and sweep it; a heart so filled with foulness will admit no counsel, no reproof. The great Enginier would have undertaken to have removed the World with his Engine, if there had been any place to fix his Engine upon, out of the World; I would undertake, (by Gods blessing upon his Ordinance) to cleanse the foulest heart that is, if that Engine which God hath put into my hands might enter into his heart; if there were room for the renouncing Gods Judgements, and for the application of Gods mercies in the merits of Christ Jesus in his heart, they would infallibly work upon him. But he hath petrified his heart in sin, and then he hath immur'd it, wall'd it with a delight in sin, and fortified it with a justifying of his sin, and adds daily more and more out-works, by more and more daily sins; so that the denouncing of Judgement, the application of Mercies, Prayers, Sermons, Sacraments, (which are the Engines and Ammunition which God hath put into our hands) though they have a blessed and a powerful operation, and produce heavenly effects, where they may have entrance; in this, habitual sinners can have none. Some things therefore, some great things every man must depart with, before he can come to the God of *pure eyes.*

Abac. 1.13

When the heart is emptied of *infidelity,* and of those habits of sin that filled it, when it is come to a discontinuance, and a detestation of

those sins, then we can better look into every corner, and endeavor to keep it clean; clean in that measure, that the God of *pure eyes* will vouchsafe to look upon it, and the light of his countenance will perfect the work. The diligence required on our part, is a serious watchfulness and consideration of our particular actions, how small soever. In the Law, whatsoever was unclean to eat, made a man unclean, to *touch* it, when *it* was *dead*. Though the body of sin have so far received a deadly wound in thee, as that thou hast discontinued some habitual sin, some long time; yet if thou touch upon the *memory* of that dead sin, *with*
65.20 *delight,* thou begettest a new childe of sin. And as *Esai* speaks of a childe, and of a sinner of an hundred years old, so every sin into which we relapse, is born an hundred years old; it hath all the age of that sin, which we had repented and discontinued before, upon it; it is born an *Adam,* in full strength the first minute; born a Giant, born a Devil, and possesses us in an instant. Every man may observe, that a *sin of relapse* is sooner upon him, then the same sin was at the first attempting him; at first, he had more bashfulness, more tenderness, more colluctation against the sin, then upon a relapse. And therefore in this survey of sin, thy first care must be, to take heed of returning too diligently to a remembrance of those delightful sins which are past; for that will endanger new. And in many cases it is safer to do
[Micah 7.19] (as God himself is said to do) *to tie up our sins in a bundle,* and *cast them into the sea;* so for us to present our sins in general to God, and to cast them into the bottomless sea of the infinite mercies of God, in the infinite merits of Christ Jesus; then by an over-diligent enumeration of sins of some kindes, or by too busie a contemplation of those circumstances which encreased our sinful delight then when we committed those sins, to commit them over again, by a fresh delight in their memory. When thou hast truly repented them, and God hath forgotten them, do *thou forget* them too.

The pureness and cleanness of heart which we must love, was evidently represented in the old Law, and in the practise of the *Jews,* who took knowledge of so many *uncleannesses;* they reckon almost fifty sorts of uncleannesses, to which there belonged particular expiations; of which, some were hardly to be avoided in ordinary conversation: As to enter into the Courts of Justice; for the *Jews* that led Christ into
Jo. 18.28 the common Hall, would not enter, lest they should be defiled. Yea,

some things defiled them, which it had been unnatural to have left undone; as for the son to assist at his fathers Funeral; and yet even these required an expiation: For these, though they had not the nature of sin, but might be expiated, (without any inward sorrow or repentance) by outward ablutions, by ceremonial washings, within a certain time prescribed by the Law, yet if that time were negligently and inconsiderately overslipt, then they became sins, and then they could not be expiated, but by a more solemn, and a more costly way, by sacrifice. And even before they came to that, whilst they were *but uncleannesses,* and *not sins,* yet even then they made them incapable of eating the Paschal Lamb. So careful was God in the Law, and the *Jews* in their practise (for these outward things) to preserve this pureness, this cleanness, even in things which were not fully sins. So also must he that affects this pureness of heart, and studies the preserving of it, sweep down every cobweb that hangs about it. Scurrile and obscene language; yea, mis-interpretable words, such as may bear an ill sense; pleasurable conversation, and all such little entanglings, which though he think too weak to hold him, yet they foul him. And let him that is subject to these *smaller sins,* remember, that as a spider builds always where he knows there is most access and haunt of flies, so the Devil that hath cast these light cobwebs into thy heart, knows that that heart is made of vanities and levities; and he that gathers into his treasure whatsoever thou wast'st out of thine, how negligent soever thou be, he keeps thy reckoning exactly, and will produce against thee at last as many lascivious glaunces as shall make up an Adultery, as many covetous wishes as shall make up a Robery, as many angry words as shall make up a Murder; and thou shalt have dropt and crumbled away thy soul, with as much irrecoverableness, as if thou hadst poured it out all at once; and thy merry sins, thy laughing sins, shall grow to be crying sins, even in the ears of God; and though thou drown thy soul here, drop after drop, it shall not burn spark after spark, but have all the fire, and all at once, and all eternally, in one intire and intense torment. For, as God, for our capacity, is content to be described as one of us, and to take our passions upon him, and be called *angry,* and *sorry,* and the like; so is he in this also like us, that he takes it worse to be slighted, to be neglected, to be left out, then to be actually injur'd. Our inconsideration, our not thinking of God in our actions, offends

him more then our sins. We know, that in Nature, and in Art, the strongest bodies are compact of the least particles, because they shut best, and lie closest together; so be the strongest habits of sin compact of sins which in themselves are least; because they are least perceived, they grow upon us insensibly, and they cleave unto us inseparably. And I should make no doubt of recovering him sooner that had sinned long against his conscience, though in a great sin, then him that had sinned less sins, without any sense or conscience of those sins; for I should sooner bring the other to a detestation of his sin, then bring this man to a knowledge, that that that he did was sin. But if thou could'st consider that every sin is a Crucifying of Christ, and every sin is a precipitation of thy self from a Pinacle; were it a convenient phrase to say, in every little sin, that thou would'st *Crucifie Christ a little,* or break thy neck a little?

Beloved, there is a power in *grace,* upon thy repentance, to wash away thy greatest sins; that's the true, the proper Physick of the soul, it is the only means to recover thee. But yet, wert thou not better to make this grace thy diet, then thy physick? Wert thou not better to nourish thy soul with this grace all the way, then to hope to purge thy soul with it at last? This, as a Diet, the Apostle prescribes thee, 1 Cor. 10.31 *Whether you eat or drink, do all to the glory of God.* He intends it farther there, *Whatsoever you do;* and farther then that, in another Col. 3.17 place, *Whatsoever ye do, in deed, or in word, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus.* Since there is no action so little, but God may be glorified in it, there is no action so little, but the Devil may have his end in it too, and may overthrow thee by a tentation, which thou thinkest thy self strong enough to leap over. And therefore, if you have not given over all love of true weights, and true measures, weigh and measure your particular and *indifferent actions,* before you do them, and you shall see, at least, grains of iniquity in them; and then, this advantage will you have, by this preconsideration, and weighing your actions before hand; that when you know there is sin in that action, and know that nothing can counterpoise, nor weigh down sin, but onely the Blood of *Christ Jesus;* you may know too, that the Blood of *Christ Jesus* cannot be had before hand. God gives no such *non-obstantes,* no such privileges, no leave to sin, no pardon for sin, before it be committed: And therefore, if this premeditation of this action bring thee

to see that there is sin in it; it must necessarily put a tenderness, a horror, an aversion in thee, from doing that, to which, (being thus done with this preconsideration, and presumption) the Blood of thy Saviour doth not appertain. To all your other Wares, the baser and courser they are, the greater weight and measure you are content to give; to the basest of all, to sin, you give the lightest weight, and scantest measure, and you supply all with the excuses of the custom of the time, that the necessity of your trade forces you to it, else you should be poor, and poorly thought of.

Beloved, God never puts his children to a perplexity; to a necessity of doing any sin, how little soever, though for the avoiding of a sin, as manifold as *Adams*. It is not a little request to you, to beware of little sins: It is not a little request, and therefore I make it, in the words of the greatest to the greatest, (for they are all one Head and Body) of Christ to his Church, *Capite vulpeculas, Take us the little Foxes, for they devour the Vines*. It is not a cropping, nor a pilling, nor a retarding of the growth of the Vines, but *Demoliuntur,* as little as those Foxes are, they devour the Vines, they root them out. Thy Soul is not so easily devoured by *that Lion, that seeks whom he may devour;* for, still he is put to *seek,* and does not always finde: And *thou shalt hear his roaring,* that is, thou shalt discern a great sin; and the Lion of the Tribe of *Judah* will come in to thy succor, as soon as thou callest: But take heed that thy Soul be not eaten up with vermin, by those *little sins,* which thou thinkst thou canst forbear, and give over when thou wilt. God punished the *Egyptians* most, by little things; Hailstones, and Frogs, and Grashoppers; and *Pharaohs* Sorcerers, which did greater, failed in the least, in Lice. It is true, there is Physick for this, *Christ Jesus* that receives thy greatest sins into his Blood, can receive these Vermin too into his Bowels, even at last; but yet, still make his Grace rather thy Diet, by a daily consideration before hand, then thy Physick at last. It is ill to take two Physicks at once; bodily, and ghostly Physick too, upon thy Death-bed. The Apothecary and the Physician do well together; the Apothecary and the Priest not so well. Consult with him before, at least, consult with thine own Conscience in those little actions, which either their own nature, or the custom of the time, or thy course of life, thy calling, and the example of others in thy calling made thee think indifferent: For though it may seem a

Cant. 2.15

1 Pet. 5.8

Apoc. 5.5

Exod. 8.16

degree of flattery, to preach against little sins in such a City as this, where greater sins do abound; yet because these be the materials and elements of greater sins, (and it is impossible to say where a Bowl will lie, that is let fall down a Hill, though it be let never so gently out of the hand,) and there is no pureness of heart, till even these Cobwebs and Crums be swept away; He that affects that pureness, will consider well that of St. *Augustine, Interest inter rectum corde, & mundum corde;* a right heart and a clean heart, is not all one: He may have a right heart, that keeps in the right way, in the profession of the right Religion; but he onely keeps his heart pure, that watches all his steps, even in that right way. St. *Augustine* considers that question of *David, Quis ascendet,* and *quis stabit, Who shall ascend into the Hill of the Lord? and who shall stand in his holy place?* And he applies the answer, *Innocens manibus, & mundo corde;* He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart: Thus, That he hath clean hands, clean from blood, clean from bribery and oppression, clean from fornication, and such notorious sins, *Ascendet in montem,* He shall ascend into the Hill of the Lord, he shall be admitted to all the benefits that the *Christian Church* can give him; but onely he that hath a pure heart, a care to glorifie God, in a holy watchfulness upon all his particular actions, to the exclusion of lesser sins, *stabit,* shall stand safe, confident, unshaken, in his holy place, even in the judgment of God; clean hands justifie him to men, a pure heart to God: And therefore this pureness of heart, is here wrapped up in the richest mantle, in the noblest affection, that the nature of man hath, that is, *love:* For this is not onely a contentment, an acquiescence, a satisfaction, a delight in this pureness of heart, but *love* is a holy impatience in being without it, or being in a jealousie that we are without it; and it is a holy fervor and vehemency in the pursuit of it, and a preferring it before any other thing that can be compared to it: That's love; and therefore it deserves to be insisted upon, now when in our order proposed at first, from the thing it self that is required (*pureness*) and the seat, and center of that pureness (*the heart*) and the way of this fixation of this pureness in the heart, (detestation of former habits of sins, and prevention of future sins, in a watchful consideration of all our actions, before we do them,) We are come to that affection wherewith this inestimable pureness is to be embraced, *love: He that loveth pureness of heart.*

Psal. 24.4

Psal. 24.3

Love, in Divinity, is such an attribute, or such a notion, as designs to us one person in the Trinity; and that person who communicates, and applies to us, the other two persons, that is, *The Holy Ghost:* So that, as there is no *power,* but with relation to the *Father,* nor *wisdom* but with relation to the *Son,* so there should be no *love* but in the *Holy Ghost,* from whom comes this pureness of heart, and consequently the love of it necessarily: For, the love of this pureness is part of this pureness it self, and no man hath it, except he love it. All love which is placed upon lower things, admits satiety; but this love of this pureness, always grows, always proceeds: It does not onely file off the rust of our hearts, in purging us of old habits, but proceeds to a daily polishing of the heart, in an exact watchfulness, and brings us to that brightness, *Ut ipse videas faciem in corde, & alii videant cor in facie,* That thou maist see thy face in thy heart, and the world may see thy heart in thy face; indeed, that to both, both heart and face may be all one: Thou shalt be a Looking-glass to thy self, and to others too.

Amor

Augustine

The highest degree of other love, is the love of woman: Which love, when it is rightly placed upon one woman, it is dignified by the Apostle with the highest comparison, *Husbands love your wives, as Christ loved his Church:* And God himself forbad not that this love should be great enough to change natural affection, *Relinquet patrem,* (for this, a man shall leave his Father) yea, to change nature it self, *caro una,* two shall be one. Accordingly *David* expresses himself so, in commemoration of *Jonathan, Thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women:* A love above that love, is wonderful. Now, this love between man and woman, doth so much confess a satiety, as that if a woman think to hold a man long, she provides herself some other capacity, some other title, then meerly as she is a woman: Her wit, and her conversation, must continue this love; and she must be a *wife,* a *helper;* else, meerly as a woman, this love must necessarily have intermissions. And therefore St. *Jerome* notes a custom of his time, (perchance prophetically enough of our times too) that to uphold an unlawful love, and make it continue, they used to call one another *Friend,* and *Sister,* and *Cousen, Ut etiam peccatis induant nomina caritatis,* that they might apparel ill affections in good names; and those names of natural and civil love might carry on, and continue a work, which otherwise would sooner have withered. In Parables, and

Mulieres

Ephes. 5.25

Gen. 2.24

2 Sam. 1.26

Jerome

in Mythology, and in the application of Fables, this affection of love, for the often change of subjects, is described to have *wings;* whereas the true nature of a good love (such as the love of this Text) is a constant union. But our love of earthly things is not so good as to be *volatilis,* apt to fly; for it is always groveling upon the earth, and earthly objects: As in spiritual fornications, the Idols are said to have ears and hear not, and eyes and see not; so in this idolatrous love of the Creature, love hath wings, and flies not; it flies not upward, it never ascends to the contemplation of the Creator, in the Creature. The *Poets* afford us but one Man, that in his love flew so high as the Moon; *Endymion* loved the Moon. The sphear of our loves is sublunary, upon things naturally inferior to our selves.

Let none of this be so mistaken, as though women were thought improper for divine, or for civil conversation: For, they have the same soul; and of their good using the faculties of that soul, the Ecclesiastick story, and the Martyrologies, give us abundant examples of great things done, and suffered by women for the advancement of Gods glory: But yet, as when the woman was taken out of man, God caused a heavy sleep to fall upon man, and he slept; so doth the Devil cast a heavy sleep upon him too, when the woman is so received into man again, as that she possesses him, fills him, transports him. I know the Fathers are frequent in comparing and paralleling *Eve,* the Mother of Man, and *Mary* the Mother of God. But, God forbid any should say, That the Virgin *Mary* concurred to our good, so, as *Eve* did to our ruine. It is said truly, *That as by one man sin entred, and death,* so by one man entred life. It may be said, *That by one woman sin entred, and death,* (and that rather then by the man; for, *Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression.*) But it cannot be said, in that sense, or that manner, that by one woman innocence entred, and life: The Virgin *Mary* had not the same interest in our salvation, as *Eve* had in our destruction; nothing that she did entred into that treasure, that ransom that redeemed us. She, more then any other woman, and many other blessed women since, have done many things for the advancing of the glory of God, and imitation of others; so that they are not unfit for spiritual conversation; nor for the civil offices of friendship neither, where both tentation at home, and scandal abroad, may truly be avoided. I know St.

Gen. 2.21

Rom. 5.12

1 Tim. 2.14

Jerome in that case despised all scandal, and all malicious mis-interpretations of his purpose therein, rather then give over perswading the Lady *Paula,* to come from *Rome,* to him, and live at *Jerusalem:* But, I know not so well, that he did well in so doing. A familiar and assiduous conversation with women will hardly be without tentation and scandal. St. *Jerome* himself apprehended that scandal tenderly, and expresses it passionately; *Sceleratum me putant, & omnibus peccatis obrutum. The world takes me for a vicious man,* more (sceleratum) *for a wicked, a facinorous man, for this, and* obrutum, *surrounded, overflowed with all sins:* Versipellem, lubricum, mendacem, Satanæ arte decipientem: *They take me to be a slippery fellow, a turn-coat from my professed austerity, a Lyar, an Impostor, a Deceiver;* yet, though he discerned this scandal, and this inconvenience in it, he makes shift to ease himself in this, *Nihil aliud mihi objicitur, nisi sexus meus: They charge me with nothing but my sex, that I am a man;* Et hoc nunquam objicitur, nisi cum Hierosolymam *Paula* proficiscitur, *nor that neither, but because this Lady follows me to* Jerusalem.

He proceeds farther, *That till he came acquainted in* Paulas *house at Rome,* Omnium penè judicio, summo sacerdotio dignus decernebar, *every man thought me fit to be Pope;* every man thought reverently of him, till he used her house. St. *Jerome* would fain have corrected their mis-interpretations, and slackned the scandal, as we see in that vehement expostulation, and unlikelihood of an ill love between him and *Paula; Nulla alia me Romæ edomare potuit? Was* Rome *so barren, so weak, so ill furnished with instruments of tentation, that nothing in* Rome *it self could shake my constancy, or retard my austerity,* Nisi lugens, jejuna, squallida, fletibus cæcata, *but a sad, fasting, ill drest woman, blinde with weeping?* Et quam manducantem nunquam vidi: *A woman, whom* (*as familiar and domestick as I was in her house*) *I could never see eat bit of meat.* But all this would not quench the fire, the scandal grew; he found it even amongst his brethren, *Homines Christiani dicunt,* he could not say, that onely the enemies of the faith, or his enemies, but they that loved Religion well, and him well, talked dangerously and suspiciously of it; and yet St. *Jerome* could not dispose himself to forbear that conversation. He overcame the sense of it, with a *par pari refertur: I,* says he, *am even*

with them: Invicem insanire videmur, *they think me mad, and I think them mad:* But this is not always a safe, nor a charitable way, when he might so easily have cured both madnesses. But he perseveres in it with that resolution, *Saluta* Paulam, *velit nolit mundus, in Christo meam; Remember me to my* Paula, *let the world say what it will, in Christ, my* Paula: Thus he proceeds; if excusably in his own behalf, that is the best; certainly not exemplarily, not to be followed by others, in cases of so great scandal: For there goes not onely a great deal of innocency (which we acknowledge, doubtlesly, to have been between that blessed couple) but there must go a great deal of necessity too, (that is, That *Paula* could not have been reduced by any other means to the service of God, or continued in it, but by following St. *Jerome* to *Jerusalem*) to justifie such a conversation as became so scandalous. And howsoever, in some cases excuses might be found, what good Mariner would anchor under a Rock, and lie in danger of beating upon that? What Fish would chuse his food upon a Hook? What Mouse at a Trap? What man would mingle Sugar and Rats-bane together, and then trust his cunning to sever them again? Why should any man chuse such company, such conversation, as may minister tentation to him, or scandal to others? St. *Augustine* apprehended this danger tenderly, when he gave his reason, why he would not have his Mother in the house with him, *Because,* says he, *though there be no danger of scandal in the person of my Mother; all those women that serve my Mother, and that accompany my Mother, and that visit my Mother, all they are not Mothers to me; and a lawful conversation may come to an unlawful love quickly.* We see how this love wrought, when it was scattered upon many women, (and therefore could not be so dangerously vehement upon any one) in *Solomon,* whose wives turned away his heart; so that his heart was not perfect with God. *Nec errore putavit Idolis serviendum, Solomon* never came to think deliberately, that Idolatry was lawful; *sed blanditiis fœmineis ad illa sacrificia compulsus,* his appliableness to women brought him to that sacriledge. Thus it wrought, even when it was scattered upon many, in *Solomon;* and we see how it wrought, when it was collected and contracted upon one object, in *Samson; Because she was importunate upon him* (says the Text) *and vexed him with her words continually, his soul was pained unto the death.* Yea, if we go as high as is possible,

Augustine

1 King 11.4

Augustine

Judg. 16.16

to *Adam* himself, we see both St. *Augustine* and St. *Jerome* express his case thus, *Adam non tanquam verum loquenti credidit, Adam* did not believe *Eve,* nor was not overcome by her reasons, when she provoked him to eat the Apple, *Sed sociali necessitudini paruit,* he was affected with that near interest which was between them. And *ne contristaretur delicias suas,* lest by refusing he should put her, whom he delighted in, to a desperate sadness, and sense of her sin, he eat for company. And as the first, and the middle times did, so without doubt, our own times too, if we search but our selves at home, do minister examples of this (in a proportion) which neither St. *Jerome,* nor *Solomon,* nor *Samson,* nor *Adam* avoided, that an over-tender indulgence towards such women, that for other respects they were bound to love, inclined them to do such things, as otherwise they would not have done; Natural and civil obligations induced conversation, and conversation tentation, or if not that really, yet scandal.

That that we drive to in all this, is this, that if we may not exceed in this *love,* which is natural, and commanded, much less in any other. So that there is nothing in this world left, for this noble and operative affection, *Love,* to work upon, but this *pureness of heart.* Love it therefore, that thou mayst seek it, love it that thou mayest have it; love it that thou mayest love it; for (as we said before) it is a part of this pureness to love it. Some of the ancient Fathers, out of their love to it, have put so high a price and estimation upon it, that they hardly afforded any grace, any pardon to those that sinned after they had once received this pureness in *Baptism.* So that with them, the heart could never be clean again, after it was once foul'd a second time. Our new *Romane Chymists,* on the other side, they that can *transubstantiate bread into God,* they can change any foulness into cleanness easily. They require no more after sin, but *quendam tenuem dolorem internum,* A little slight inward sorrow, and that's enough. For, they have provided an easier way then *Contrition;* for, that which they have induc'd, and call *Attrition,* is not an affection, *qui habet pro fine Deum,* That hath proposed God, for the mark, that it is directed to; *Nec qui indiget divina gratia;* but it is such an affection as may be had without any concurrence or assistance of grace, and is onely *Dolor naturalis, & ex timore servili,* a natural sorrow, proceeding onely out of a servile fear of torment. And yet, a Confession made

Maldon.

Zambran.

with this Attrition and no more, is enough for salvation, say they; and he that hath made a confession with such a disposition as this, This that hath no reference to *God,* This that hath no strength from his *grace,* This that hath no motive from the *fear of God,* shall never need to repent any farther for his sins. *Displiceri de peccato, sed non super omni displicibili;* This is Attrition, to be displeased with our sins, but not more with our sins, then with any thing else; *Intendere vitare peccatum, sed non super omne vitabile,* To have a purpose to leave a sin, but not the sin rather then any thing else, this is their *Attrition,* and this is their enough for salvation. A sigh of the *penitent,* a word of the *Priest,* makes all clean, and induces an absolute pureness.

Cajetan.

Thus some of the Ancients went too far, They would pardon no sin after Baptism; These new Men go not far enough; They pardon all too easily. Old Physicians thought all hurts in the heart presently mortal; These new Physitians can pare off some of the heart, and give it to Idolatry; for, so they say, that the worship due to God may be given to a creature, so it be not *Tanquam Deo,* as that the Creature is thereby professed to be God; and yet, they confess that that worship which they give to the creature is idolatry, but, not that Idolatry, say they, which is forbidden in the commandment, which is, that that Creature, so worshipped with the worship due to God, be also believed to be God; and so, truely I believe it will be hard to finde any Idolatry in the world; That they that worship any thing, in representation of God, do believe advisedly that representation to be *very God.* But the true reason why no hurt received in the heart can be healed, is, *quia palpitat,* because it is in perpetual motion. If the heart lay still, as other parts do, so that medicinal helps might be applied to it, and admitted by it, there were more hope. Therefore when we lay such a weight upon the heart, as may settle it, fix it, give it a reposedness and acquiescence, though it do receive some wounds, though it be touched with some tentations, it may be cured. But is there any such weight as should so settle the heart, the soul of Man? This love of Pureness is that weight. *Amor est pondus animæ; sicut gravitas, Corporis;* As the weight of my body makes that steady, so this love of Pureness is the weight and the ballast of my soul; and this weight stays the palpitation, the variation, the deviation of the

August.

heart upon other objects; which variation frustrates all endeavors to cure it.

The *love* of this pureness is both the *ballast* and the *frait,* to carry thee steadily and richly too, through all storms and tempests, spiritual and temporal in this life, to the everlasting *Jerusalem*. If you be come to this love, this *love of pureness of heart,* never to lock up your door till you have carried out your dust; never to shut your eyes at night, till you have swept your conscience, and cast your foulness into that infinite sea of the blood of Christ Jesus, which can contract no foulness by it; never to open your eyes in the morning, but that you look out to glorifie God in the rising of the Sun, and in his other creatures, and in the peace and safety of your house and family, and the health of your children and servants; But, especially to look inward, and consider, whether you have not that night mingled *poyson* with Gods *Physick,* whether you have not mingled sloth and laziness in that which God gave you for rest and refreshing; whether you have not mingled licentiousness in that which God gave you for a remedy against fornication. And then, when you shall have found that sin hath been awake in you, even when your bodies were asleep, be sure you cast not the Spirit of God into a sleep in you, when your bodies are awake, but that you proceed vigilantly in your several wayes, with a fore-knowledge, that there is every where *coluber in via,* A Snake in the way; in every way that you can take, in every course of life, in every calling, there is some of the seed of the old Serpent presents it self. And then, if by Gods infallible word, explicated in his Church, which is *Lucerna pedibus vestris* (The *word* is the *light,* but the *Church* is the *Lanthorne,* it presents and preserves that light unto you; and though it be said *Lucerna Dominus, Thou O Lord art my light, God himself;* and *Lucerna Agnus,* The Lamb, Christ himself is your light; And *lucerna mandatum,* The commandments of God are your light; yet it is also said of *Iohn Baptist, Lucerna ardens,* he was a burning and a shining light; The Ministry of the Gospel in the Church, is your light) If by the benefit of this light, you consider every step you make, weigh every action you undertake, this is that love of Pureness, that *Pondus animæ,* the setling of the heart, that keeps it from evaporating upon transitory things, and settles it so, as that it becomes capable of that cure, which God, in his Church, in the Ab-

Psal. 119.105

2 Sam. 22.29
Apoc. 21.23
Prov. 6.23
John 5.35

solution of sins, and seals of Reconciliation, exhibits to it. To recollect and contract that which hath been said, This pureness is not a purifying pureness, to correct and reform those things that appertain not to us; nor it is not such a purified pureness as makes us *Canonize* our selves, and think others *Reprobates* (for, all this is no pureness at all:) neither is it the true pureness, if it be not in the heart (for outward good works, not done to good ends, are impure:) nor is this pureness of heart acquired by any other means, then by discharging the heart in a detestation of former habits, and a sedulous watchfulness in preventing future attempts; nor can this pureness of heart, though by these means attain'd to, be preserved, but by this noble and incorruptible affection of Love, that puts a true value upon it, and therefore prefers it above all other things. And this was the first of the two marks which we found to be upon that person that should be capable of the Kings friendship, *He that loveth pureness of heart.* And the other is, that he have by honest industry fitted himself, in some way, to be of use to the publike, delivered in that phrase, *Grace of lips; He that loveth pureness of heart* (There's his honesty;) *for the Grace of his lips* (There's his sufficiency;) *The King shall be his friend,* There's his reward, his preferment.

Gratia labiorum

Ordinarily in Scriptures, where this word *lips* is not taken naturally, literally, narrowly, for that part of the body, but transferred to a figurative and larger sense, either it signifies *speaking* onely (as in *Solomon,* As, *righteous lips are the delight of Kings, and the King loveth him that speaketh right things* (That is, *Him,* in whose Counsels, and in whose relations he may confide and rely;) or else it is enlarged to all manner of expressing a mans ability, to do service to that State in which God hath made his station; and by *lips,* and *fruits* of *lips,* is well understood the fruit of all his good labors and endeavors. And so may those words be well interpreted, *With the fruit of a mans mouth shall his belly be satisfied, and with the encrease of his lips shall he be filled;* That is, his honest labors in a lawful calling shall enrich him. As therefore those words, *A mans gift maketh room for him, and bringeth him before great men,* are not always understood of *Gifts* given in nature of *Bribes* or gratifications for access to great persons, but also of Gifts given by God to men, that those *Gifts* and *good parts* make them acceptable to great persons; so is not *Grace*

Prov. 16.13

[Prov.] 18.20

[Prov. 18.] Vers. 16

of lips to be restrained, either to a plausible and harmonious speaking, appliable to the humor of the hearer (for that's excluded in the first part, the root and fountain of all, *Pureness of heart,* for, *flattery* cannot consist with that) nor to be restrained to the good Offices and Abilities of the *tongue onely* (though they be many;) but this Grace of lips is to be enlarged to all declarations, and expressings, and utterings of an ability to serve the Publick; All that is Grace of lips. And in those words of *Osea, We render the Calves of our lips,* is neither Hosea 14.2
880 meant as the *Jews* say, Those Calves which we have promised with our lips, and will pay in *sacrifice,* then, when we are restor'd to our *Land of promise* again. Nor are those Calves of our lips only restrained to the *Lip-service* of *Praise,* and *Prayer,* though of them also Heb. 13.15
St. *Paul* understand them; but they include all the *sacrifices of the New Testament,* and all ways by which man can do service to God; so here the *Grace of lips* reaches to all the ways by which a man in civil functions may serve the Publick. And this *Grace of lips,* in some proportion, in some measure, every man is bound in conscience to procure to himself; he is bound to enable himself to be useful and
890 profitable to the Publick, in some course, in some vocation.

Since even *the Angels,* which are all Spirit, be yet *administring Spirits,* and execute the Commissions and Ambassages of God, and communicate with men; should man, who is not made *all soul,* but a composed creature of body and soul, exempt himself from doing the offices of mutual society, and upholding that frame in which God is pleased to be glorified? Since *God* himself, who so many millions of ages contented himself with *himself* in Heaven, yet at last made this world for his glory; shall any man live so in it as to contribute nothing towards it? Hath God made this World his Theatre, *ut exhibeatur* *Plato*
900 *ludus deorum,* that man may represent God in his conversation; and wilt thou play no part? But think that thou only wast made to pass thy time merrily, and to be the only spectator upon this Theatre? Is the world a great and harmonious Organ, where all parts are play'd, and all play parts; and must thou only sit idle and hear it? Is every body else made to be a *Member,* and to do some real office for the sustentation of this great Body, this World; and wilt thou only be no member of this Body? Thinkest thou that thou wast made to be *Cos Amoris,* a Mole in the Face for Ornament, a Man of delight in the

World? Because thy *wit,* thy *fashion,* and some such *nothing* as that, hath made thee a delightful and acceptable companion, wilt thou therefore pass in jeast, and be nothing? If thou wilt be no link of Gods Chain, thou must have no part in the influence and providence, derived by that, successively to us. Since it is for thy fault that God hath cursed the Earth, and that therefore it must bring forth *Thorns* and *Thistles,* wilt not thou stoop down, nor endanger the pricking of thy hand, to weed them up? Thinkest thou to eat bread, and not sweat? Hast thou a prerogative above the common Law of Nature? Or must God insert a particular clause of exemption for thy sake?

Oh get thee then this *grace of lips;* be fit to be inserted, and be inserted into some *society,* and some way of doing good to the Publick. I speak not this to your selves, you *Senators* of *London;* but as God hath blessed you in your ways, and in your Callings, so put your *children* into ways and courses too, in which God may bless them. The dew of Heaven falls upon them that are abroad; Gods blessings fall upon them that travel in the world. The Fathers former labors shall not excuse their Sons future idleness; as the Father hath, so the Son must glorifie God, and contribute to the world, in some setled course. And then, as God hath blessed thee in the grace of thy lips, in thy endeavors, in thy self, so thy sons shall grow up, as the *Son of God* himself did, *in grace* and *favour of God and man.* As God hath blessed thee in the fruit of thy Cattel, so he shall bless thee in the fruit of thy Body; and as he hath blessed thee in the *City,* so he shall bless thee in the *Field,* in that Inheritance which thou shalt leave to thy Son. Whereas, when children are brought up in such a tenderness, and wantonness at home, as is too frequent amongst you in *this City,* they never come to be of use to the State, nor their own Estates of any longer use to them. That Son that comes to say, *My Father hath laboured, and therefore I may take mine ease,* will come to say at last, *My Savior hath suffered, and therefore I may take my pleasure; My Savior hath fasted, and therefore I may riot, My Savior hath wept enough, and therefore I may be merry.* But as our Savior requires *Cooperarios,* that we be *fellow-workers* with him to make sure our salvation; so if your Sons be not *Cooperarii,* Labourers in some course of life, to make sure their Inheritance, though you have been called *wise in your generation;* that is, rich in your own times; yet you will

[Luke 2.52]

be called *fools in your generation too;* that is, ignominious and wretched in your posterity. In a word, he that will be *nothing* in this world, shall be nothing in the next; nor shall he have the *Communion of Saints* there, that will not have the Communion of good men here. As much as he can, he frustrates Gods Creation; God produced things of nothing, and he endeavours to bring all to nothing again; and he despises his own immortality and glorification; for since he lives the life of a *beast,* he shews that he could be content to die so too, *& accepit animam in vano,* he hath received a soul to no purpose.

This *grace of lips* then, this ability to do good to the Publick, we are bound to *have;* but we are not commanded to *love* it, as we are the pureness of heart; we must love to have it, but we must not be in love with it when we have it. But since the holy Ghost hath chosen to express these abilities, in this word, *Grace of lips,* that intimates a duty of *utterance,* and declaration of those abilities which he hath. *Habere te agnoscere, & ex te nihil habere;* To let it appear in the use of them, that thou hast *good parts,* and to confess that thou hast nothing of thine own; *Hoc est nec ingratum esse, nec superbum;* therein thou art neither unthankful to God, nor proud of thy self. As he that hath no other good parts, but *money;* and locks up that, or employs it so, as that his money feeds upon the Commonwealth, and does not feed it, (that it lies gnawing and sucking blood, by *Usury,* and does not make blood, by stirring and walking in *Merchandize,*) is an unprofitable member in State; so he that hath good parts, and smothers them, in a retired and useless life, is inexcusable in the same measure. When therefore men retire themselves into *Cloysters* and *Monasteries,* when they will not be content with St. *Pauls* diminution, to be changed from *Saul,* to *Paulus,* (which is *little*) but will go lower then that little, by being called *minorites, less* then *little,* and lower then that, *minims, least of all;* and yet finde an order less then that, as they have done, *nullani, nothing at all, Ex ore suo,* out of their own mouths they shall be judged; and that which they have made themselves here, God shal make them in the world to come, *nullanos,* nothing at all. *Paulum sepultæ distat inertiæ celata virtus,* It is all one as if he had no grace of lips, if he never have the grace to open his lips; to bury himself alive, is as much wrong to the State, as if he kill himself. Every man hath a *Politick life,* as well as a *natural life;* and he may no more take himself

away from the world, then he may make himself away out of the world. For he that dies so, by withdrawing himself from his calling, from the labours of mutual society in this life, that man *kills himself,* [Gen. 2.17] and God calls him not. *Morte morietur,* He shall die a double death; an *Allegorical* death here, in his retiring, from his own hand; and a *real* death from the hand of God hereafter. In this case, that *Væ soli, Wo be unto him that is alone,* hath the heaviest weight with it; when 990 a man lives so *alone,* as that he respects no body but himself, his own ease, and his own ends. For, to sum up all concerning this part, the Subject, as our principal duty is, *Pureness of heart towards God,* and to *love* that intirely, earnestly; so the next is the *Grace of lips,* Ability to serve the Publick; which though we be bound not to *love* it with a *pride,* we are bound not to *smother* with a *retiring.* And then for these endowments (for being *Religious,* and *serviceable* to the State) *The King shall be our friend.* Which is our second general part, to which, in our order proposed, we are now come.

Rex, nota superlativi

As it is frequent and ordinary in the Scriptures, when the Holy 1000 Ghost would express a *superlative,* the highest degree of any thing, to express it, by adding the name of God to it (as when *Saul* and his company were in such a dead sleep, as that *David* could take his Spear, [1 Sam. 26.12] and pot of water from under his head, It is called, *Tardemath Jehovah, sopor Domini, The sleep of the Lord,* The greatest sleep that could possess a man; and so in many other places, *fortitudo Domini,* and *timor Domini,* signifie the greatest strength, and the greatest fear that could fall upon a man) so also doth the Holy Ghost often descend from God, to God's Lieutenant; and as to express superlatives, he does sometimes use the name of *God;* so doth he also sometimes use the 1010 name of *King.* For, *Reges sunt summi Regis defluxus* (says that Author, who is so antient, that no man can tell when he was, *Trismegistus*) God is the *Sun,* and Kings are *Beams,* and emanations, and influences that flow from him. Such is the manner of the Holy Ghost Esay. 23.15 expressing himself in *Esai. Tyrus shall be forgotten seventy years, according to the years of one King;* that is, during the time of any one mans life, how happy and fortunate soever. And so also the miserable and wretched estate of the wicked, is likewise expressed, *His hope* Job. 18.14 *shall be rooted out of his dwelling, and shall drive him to the King of fears;* that is, to the greatest *despair; ad Regem interituum* (says the

Vulgar) to the greatest *destruction* that can be conceived. So that in this first sense, *Amicitia Regis,* the Kings friendship that is promised here, (*The King shall be his friend*) is a superlative friendship, a spreading, a delating, an universal friendship. He that is thus qualified, all the world shall love him.

Rex qui fortunatus

So also by the name of *King,* both in the Scriptures, and in *Josephus,* and in many more prophane and secular Authors, are often designed such persons as were not truly of the rank and quality of Kings; but persons that lived in plentiful and abundant fortunes, and had all the temporal happinesses of this life, were called Kings. And in this sense, the Kings friendship that is promised here, (*The King shall be his friend*) is *utilis amicitia,* all such friends as may do him good. God promises, that to men thus endow'd and qualified belongs the love and assistance that men of plentiful fortunes can give; great Persons, great in Estate, great in Power and Authority, shall confer their favours upon such men, and not upon such as only serve to swell a train, always for *ostentation,* sometimes for *sedition;* much less shall they confer their favours upon *sycophants* and *buffoons;* least of all upon the servants of their vices and voluptuousness; but they whom God hath made Kings in that sense, (Masters of abundant fortunes) shall do good to them only who have this *pureness of heart,* and *grace of lips.*

Rex Ipse

But if these words be not only intended of the King literally, That he shall do good to men thus endowed and qualified, but extended to all men in their proportion, that all that are able should do good to such persons; yet this Text is principally intended of the *King himself,* and therefore is so expressed singularly and emphatically, *The King shall be his friend.* As God hath appointed it for a particular dignity to his Spouse, the Church, *That Kings shall be their foster-fathers, and Queens their nurses;* so God hath designed it for a particular happiness of religious and capable men, that they may stand before the King, and hear his wisdom, as the *Queen* of *Sheba* observed of the servants of *Solomon,* and pronounced them happy for that. This then is a happiness belonging to this *pureness,* and this *grace,* that the King shall not only nor absolutely rely upon the information of others, and take such a measure, and such a character of men, as the good or bad affections of others will present unto him; but he shall take an imme-

Esa. 49.23

1 Reg, 10.8

diate knowledge of them himself; he shall observe their love to this pureness of heart, and their grace of lips, and so become their friend.

Amicus Unto which of the *Angels* said God at any time, *Thou art my son,*
Heb. 1.5 says the Apostle? Indeed to none of them; it was a name peculiar to
1060 *Christ.* Unto what *man* did God ever say, *Thou art my friend?* only
Esa. 41.8 to one, to *Abraham;* (Israel, *and* Jacob, *and the seed of* Abraham *my*
2 Chr. 20.7 *friend*) *Jehoshaphat* before this had taken knowledge of this friendship between God and *Abraham,* (*Didst thou not give this Land to the seed of* Abraham *thy friend for ever?*) And so doth St. *James* also record this friendship after, (Abraham *believed, and he was called the*
James 2.23 *friend of God.*) God never called any man friend, but him to whom he gave a *change of name,* and honorable additions. He called him *Abraham,* a name of dilatation, *Patrem multitudinum,* a Father of multitudes; he made him able to do good to others; for he did not only
Gen. 12.2 1070 say, *Blessed shalt thou be,* for that might be, *blessed of others,* or *blessed amongst others;* but it is not *Eris Benedictus,* but *Eris Benedictio,* Thou shalt be a Blessing, *a Blessing to others.* I will make thee a blessed instrument of conveying my Blessings to other men. That's Gods friendship, and the highest preferment that man is capable of in this life, to extend men beyond themselves, and make them his Instruments to others.

Step we a step lower, from *God* to the *King;* for as Kings have no example but God, so according to that example they are reserv'd, and sparing in affording that name of *friend* to any. For, as moral men
1080 have noted, friendship implies some degrees of equality, which cannot stand between *King* and *Subject.* But this is the encouragement to this loving of pureness, and this seeking the grace of lips; that this is the true and the only way to that friendship of the King, which is intended in the word of this Text. The word is *Ragnah;* and *Ragnah* hath such a latitude in the Scriptures, as may well give satisfaction to any Subject: For *Ragnah* signifies *Amare,* to *love;* and so the King shall love this man. But we have known cases in which Kings have been fain to disguise and dissemble their love, out of a tenderness and lothness to grieve them whom they have lov'd before; and so the King may
1090 love this man, and he never the better. Therefore this word *Ragnah,* signifies *sociare,* to draw him nearer, to associate him to him, in

Counsels, and other ways, and always to afford him easie accesses unto him; but we have known cases too, in which Kings, though they have opened one Cabinet, their *Affections,* yet they have shut up another, their *Judgements,* and their last purposes, even from them whom they have drawn near them. For Kings naturally love to be at their liberty; and it is not only a greatness, but an ease, to be able to disavow an instruction, upon the mis-understanding of the Minister and Instrument. Therefore against such intricacies and intanglings, this *Ragnah* signifies *Docere,* The King shall teach him, inform him directly, candidly, ingenuously, apertly, without any perplexities or reservations. And who would not purifie his heart, and add grace to his lips, that he might taste this friendship of the King, to be loved by him, and feel the influences of his affection, to be drawn near him, and made partaker of his consultations; to be taught by him, and carried all the way with clearness, and without danger of mistaking? And who would not imploy the thoughts of a pure heart, and the praises of graceful lips, in thanksgivings to Almighty God, who hath bless'd us with such times, as that such Subjects have found such a King!

Neither is this encouragement to this Pureness, and this Grace in our Text, only in the benignity of the King, (which yet were a just provocation, that the King would consider such men before others; for all Kings do not always so) but it is in his duty, it is in his office; for, (as our Translators have expressed it) we see it is not said, The King *will* be; but, The King *shall* be his friend; it is not an arbitrary, but a necessary thing. God, in whose hands the Kings heart is, and who only can give Law, and Precept to the King, hath said, *The King shall be his friend.* Neither hath God left the King at that largenesse, that he shall seem to be his friend, and do for him as though he were his friend, but yet not be so. *Etiam simulare Philosophiam, Philosophia est;* It is a degree of wisdom to seem wise. To be able to hold the world in opinion that one is great with the King, is a degree of greatness. And we have some Tales, and Apophthegms to that purpose; when men have been suitors to the King for that favour, that they might bid him but good morrow in his ear, thereby to put impressions in the beholders, that they had a familiar interest in him. But when the grounds of this Royal friendship are true and solid, Pureness of heart, and Grace of lips, the friendship must be so too. And then the ground being

Non Arbitrarium

Veritas Amicitiæ

good, as it is not said, the King shall seem to be, but he shall be; so it is not said, the King shall have been, but he shall be; he shall be so *still,* he shall continue this friendship; but yet, but so long as this Pureness and this Grace continues, which produced this friendship in him.

Duratio Amicitiæ

For all this great frame, the friendship of the King, turns upon this little hinge, this particle, this monosyllable, *His;* The King shall be *His, His* friend. And to whom hath that *His* relation? To him, and him only that hath both *Pureness of heart,* and *Grace of lips.* Neither truth in Religion, nor abilities to serve the Publique, must be wanting in him to whom the King shall be a friend. For for the first, sincerity in *Religion,* St. *Ambrose* expressed that, (and the other too) elegantly;

Ambros. Offic. l.2.12 *An idoneum putabo qui mihi det consilium, qui non dat sibi?* Can I think him fit to give me counsel, that mis-counsels himself in the highest business, Religion? *Mihi eum vacare credam, qui sibi non vacat?* Shall I think that he will study me, that neglects himself? His best self? the soul it self? And then for his doing good to the Publick,

L. 1.8.[26] *Officium ab Efficiendo, & Efficium dicendum,* says he. He only is fit for an Office, that knows how to execute it; he must have *pureness of heart* for his *end;* for he that proposes not that end, will make an ill end. And he must have this *Grace of lips,* which implies that *civil wisdom,* which, (as the Philosopher notes) *versatur circa media perveniendi;* He must know wherein he may be useful and beneficial to others, thankful to God, profitable to others; that's his circumference; and then his centre here, is the love of the King. For these destroy not one another, *Religion* and *Prudence.* As that love which *Christ* bare to

[Joh. 13.25] St. *John,* who lay in his bosome, (towards whom Christ had certainly other *humane* and affectionate respects, then he had to the rest) made him not the less fit to be an *Apostle,* and an *Evangelist;* nor the great Office of Apostleship made him not unfit for that love that Christ bare him; so both these endowments, *Pureness of heart,* and *Grace of lips,* are not only compatible, but necessary to him to whom the King shall be a friend. And both these doth God require, (if we consider the

Deut. 1.13 force of the Original words) when he says, *Bring ye men of wisdom, and known among the Tribes, and I will make them Rulers over you.* For, that addition, (*known among the Tribes*) excludes *reserv'd* men, *proud* and inaccessible men; though God do not intend there *popular* men, yet he does intend men acceptable to the people. And when

David comes to a lustration, to a sifting of his Family, as he says, *He that walketh in a perfect way, he shall serve me;* expressing in that, this Pureness; so intending to speak of this Grace of lips, which is an ability to be useful to others, for which nothing makes a man more unfit then *Pride,* and harshness, and hardness of access, he scarce knows how to express himself and his indignation against such a man; *Him* (says he) *that hath a proud look, and a high heart, I cannot;* and there he ends abruptly; He does not say, I cannot work upon him, I cannot mend him, I cannot pardon him, I cannot suffer him; but only, *I cannot,* and no more; I cannot tell what to do with him, I cannot tell what to say of him; and therefore I give him over: Him that hath a proud look, and a high heart, I cannot. Whatsoever his grace of lips be, how good soever his parts, he doth not only want the principal part, *Pureness of heart,* but he cannot be a fit instrument of that most blessed union between Prince and Subject, if his proud look, and harsh behavior make him unacceptable to honest men. It was (says the *Orator* to the Emperor *Theodosius*) *Execratio postrema,* an Execration, and an expressing of their indignation, beyond which they could not go, when speaking of *Tarquin, Libidine præcipitem, Avaritia cæcum, furore vœcordem, crudelitate immanem, vocarunt superbum,* They thought it enough to call a man that was licentious, and covetous, and furious, and bloody, proud; *Et putaverunt sufficere convitium,* they thought themselves sufficiently revenged upon him for all their grievances, and that they had said as much as any Orator in an *Invective,* any Poet in a *Satyr,* could say, when they had imprinted that name upon his memory, *Tarquin the Proud.*

Psal. 101.6

[Psal. 101] v. 5

To those therefore that have insinuated themselves into the friendship of the King, without these two endowments: If the King hath always Christ for his example, if he say to them, *Amice, quomodo intrasti, Friend, how came you in?* If you had not this wedding garment on, or if this wedding garment were not your own, but borrowed by an Hypocritical dissimulation, *Amici, quomodo intrasti;* though you be never so much my friend, in never so near place to me, I must know how you got in; for, I have but two doors, (indeed, not two *doors,* but a *gate,* and a *wicket;* a greater, and an inferior way) A *religious heart,* and *useful parts;* if you have not these, if you fear not God, and, if you study not, (as I do) the welfare of my people; you are not come in at

Matth. 22.12

my *gate,* (that is, *Religion*) nor at my *wicket,* (that is, *the good of my people:*) And therefore, how near so ever you be crept, I must have a review, an inquiry, to know, *quomodo intrasti,* how you came in.

But for those which have these two endowments, (*Religion,* and *care of the publick*) we have the word of the *King of Kings,* of God himself, in the mouth of the wisest King, King *Solomon, The King shall be his friend:* And the King hath Christ himself still for his ex-

[Joh. 13.1] ample, *Who loved them whom he loved to the end:* For, as long as the reason, upon which he grounds his word, remains, *Regis verbum Regi Rex est,* The Kings word, the Kings love, the Kings favor, *Regi Rex est,* is a King upon the King, and bindes him to his word, as well as his subjects are bound to him.

Demosthenes

To recollect and fasten these pieces; these be the benefits of this pureness of heart, and grace of lips, first, That the King shall take an immediate and personal knowledge of him, and not be misled by false characters, or false images of him, by any breath that would blast him in the Kings ear. And then, that he shall take it to be his Royal Office, and Christian duty to do so; that to those men, whom he findes so qualified, he shall be a friend in all those acceptations of the word in our Text: *Amabit,* he shall love them, impart his affections to them; *Sociabit,* he shall associate them to him, and impart his consultations unto them: And *Sociabit* again, He shall go along with them, and accompany their labors, and their services, by the seal of his countenance, and ratification; And *Docebit,* He shall instruct them clearly in his just pleasure, without intangling, or snaring them in perplexities, by ambiguous directions. This is the capacity required (to be religious and useful;) this is the preferment assured, *The King shall be his friend;* and this is the compass of our Text.

Accomodatio ad Diem

Now, Beloved, as we are able to interpret some places of the *Revelation,* better then the *Fathers* could do, because we have seen the fulfilling of some of the *Prophecies* of that Book, which they did but conjecture upon; so we can interpret and apply this Text by way of accommodation the more usefully, because we have seen these things performed by those Princes whom God hath set over us. We need not that *Edict* of the Senate of *Rome, Ut sub titulo gratiarum agendarum;* That upon pretence of thanking our Princes, for that which, we say, they had done, *Boni principes, quæ facerent recognoscerent,* Good

Princes should take knowledge what they were bound to do, though they had not done so yet.

We need not this *Circuit*, nor this *disguise;* for, Gods hand hath been abundant towards us, in raising Ministers of State, so qualified, and so endowed; and such Princes as have fastned their friendships, and conferred their favors upon such persons. We celebrate, seasonably, opportunely, the thankful acknowledgment of these mercies, this day: This day, which God made for us, according to the pattern of his *first days* in the Creation; where, *Vesper & mane dies unus,* the evening first, and then the morning made up the day; for, here the saddest night, and the joyfullest morning, that ever the daughters of this Island saw, made up this day. Consider the tears of *Richmond* this night, and the joys of *London,* at this place, at this time, in the morning; and we shall finde *Prophecy* even in that saying of the *Poet, Nocte pluit tota,* showers of rain all night, of weeping for our Soveraign; and we would not be comforted, because she was not: And yet, *redeunt spectacula manè,* the same hearts, the same eyes, the same hands were all directed upon recognitions, and acclamations of her successor, in the morning: And when every one of you in the City were running up and down like Ants with their eggs bigger then themselves, every man with his bags, to seek where to hide them safely, Almighty God shed down his *Spirit of Unity,* and recollecting, and reposedness, and acquiescence upon you all. In the death of that Queen, unmatchable, inimitable in her sex; that Queen, worthy, I will not say of *Nestors* years, I will not say of *Methusalems,* but worthy of *Adams* years, if *Adam* had never faln; in her death we were all under one common flood, and depth of tears. But the *Spirit of God moved upon the face of that depth;* and God said, *Let there be light, and there was light, and God saw that that light was good.* God took pleasure, and found a savor of rest, in our peaceful chearfulness, and in our joyful and confident apprehension of blessed days in his Government, whom he had prepared at first, and preserved so often for us.

[Gen. 1.5–31]

Matth. 2.18

[Gen. 1.2–4]

As the Rule is true, *Cum de Malo principe posteri tacent, manifestum est vilem facere præsentem,* when men dare not speak of the vices of a Prince that is dead, it is certain that the Prince that is alive proceeds in the same vices; so the inversion of the Rule is true too, *Cum de bono principe loquuntur,* when men may speak freely of the

Plinius ad Trajan.

vertues of a dead Prince, it is an evident argument, that the present Prince practises the same vertues; for, if he did not, he would not love to hear of them. Of *her,* we may say (that which was well said, and
1280 therefore it were pity it should not be once truly said, for, so it was not, when it was first said to the Emperor *Iulian*) *Nihil humile, aut abjectum cogitavit, quia novit de se semper loquendum;* she knew the world would talk of her after her death, and therefore she did such things all her life were worthy to be talked of. Of her glorious succes-
Plinius ad Trajan. sor, and our gracious Soveraign, we may say; *Onerosum est succedere bono Principi,* It would have troubled any king but *him,* to have come in succession, and in comparison with such a *Queen.* And in them both we may observe the unsearchableness of the ways of God; of
Psal. 118.23 them both, we may say, *Dominus fecit, It is the Lord that hath done it,*
1290 *and it is wonderful in our eyes:* First, That a *woman* and a *maid* should have all the wars of Christendom in her contemplation, and govern and ballance them all; And then, That a *King,* born and bred in a *warlike Nation,* and so accustomed to the *sword,* as that it had been directed upon his own person, in the *strength* of his age, and in his *Infancy,* in his *Cradle,* in his *mothers belly,* should yet have the *blessed spirit of peace* so abundantly in him, as that by his Councils, and his authority, he should sheath all the swords of Christendom
Judg. 14.14 again. *De forti egressa dulcedo,* sweetness is come out of the strong, in a stranger manner, then when *Sampson* said so in his riddle; And
1300 howsoever another wise King found it true, *Anima saturata calcabit*
Prov. 27.7 *favum, The person that is full despiseth honey,* they that are glutted with the benefits of peace, would fain change for a war; yet the wisest King of all hath pronounced for our King, *Beati pacifici, Blessed are*
Mat. 5.9 *the peace-makers.* If subjects will not apprehend it with joy here, the King himself shall joy hereafter, for, Therefore (says that Gospel) Therefore, because he was a peace-maker, he shall be called *The childe*
2 Tim. 2.12 *of God.* Though then these two great Princes (of whom the one *con-regnat Christo,* reigns now with Christ, the other reigns here over us
Plin. de Nerva, & Trajan. *vice Christi,* for Christ, were near in blood, yet thus were they nearest
1310 of kin, *quod uterque optimus,* That they were both better then any other, and equal to one another. *Dignus alter eligi, alter eligere,* That she was fittest in that fullness of years, to be chosen and assum'd into heaven; and he fittest (as Saint *Paul* did because it was more behoofe-

ful for his brethren) to choose to stay upon earth, for our protection, and for our direction; because (as in all Princes it is) *vita principis perpetua censura,* There cannot be a more powerful increpation upon the subjects excesses, then when they see the King deny himself those pleasures which they take.

Non Anticipavit

As then this place, where we all stand now, was *the Sanctuary* whither we all resorted this day, to receive the assurance of our safety, in the proclamation of his undoubted title to this Kingdom, so let it be *our Altar* now, where we may sacrifice our humble thanks to God, first, that he always gave the King a just, and a religious patience of not attempting a coming into this Kingdom, till God emptied the throne here, by translating that Queen to a throne more glorious. Perchance he was not without tentations from other men to have done otherwise. But, *Ad Principatum per obsequium venit,* he came to be King by his obedience, his obedience to the law of *Nature,* and the laws of *this Kingdom,* to which some other King would have disputed, whether he should have obey'd or no. *Cum omnia faceret imperare ut deberet, nihil fecit, ut imperaret;* All his Actions, all that he did, shew'd him fit for this Crown, and yet he would do nothing to anticipate that Crown.

Pacatus ad Theodos.

Non adulatus

Next let us pour out our thanks to God, that in his entrance he was beholden to no *by-religion*. The *Papists* could not make him place any hopes upon them, nor the *Puritans* make him entertain any fears from them; but his God and our God, as he brought him *via lactea,* by the sweet way of Peace, that flows with milk and hony, so he brought him *via Regia,* by the direct and plain way, without any deviation or descent into ignoble flatteries, or servile humoring of any persons or factions. Which noble, and Christian courage he expressed more manifestly, when, after that infamous *powder treason,* the intended dissolution, and conflagration of this state (that plot that even amaz'd and astonished *the Devil,* and seem'd a miracle even in hell, that treason, which, whosoever wishes might be covered now, is sorry that it was discovered then, whosoever wishes that it might be forgotten, wishes that it had proceeded; And therefore let our tongue cleave unto the roof [of] our mouths, if we do not confess his loving kindness before the Lord, and his wonderful works before the Sons of men) Then I say, did his Majesty shew this Christian courage of his

Non occulte

[Psa. 137.6]

more manifestly, when he sent the profession of his Religion, *The Apology of the Oath of Allegeance,* and his opinion of the *Romane Antichrist,* in all languages, to all Princes of Christendom. By occasion of which Book, though there have risen twenty *Rabshakes,* who have rail'd against our God in railing against our Religion, and twenty *Shemeis,* who have railed against the person of his sacred Majesty, (for, I may pronounce that the number of them who have bark'd, and snarl'd at that book in writing, is scarce less than fourty) yet scarce one of them all hath undertaken the arguments of that book, but either repeated, and perchance enlarged those things which their own Authors had shovel'd together of that subject, (that is, *The Popes Temporal power*) or else they have bent themselves maliciously, insolently, sacrilegiously, against the person of his Majesty; and the *Pope* may be *Antichrist* still, for any thing they have said to the contrary. It belong'd only to him, whom no earthly King may enter into comparison with, the King of Heaven, *Christ Jesus,* to say, *Those that thou gavest me have I kept, and none of them is lost;* And even in him, in *Christ Jesus* himself, that admitted one exception; *Judas the childe of perdition was lost.* Our King cannot say that *none* of his Subjects are fled to *Rome;* but his vigilancy at home hath wrought so, as that *fewer* are gone from our *Universities* thither, in his, then in former times; and his Books abroad have wrought so, that much greater, and considerable persons are come to us, then are gone from us. I add that particular, (from our *Universities*) because we see, that since those men whom our Universities had bred, and graduated before they went thither, (of which the number was great, for many years of the Queens time) are worne out amongst them, and dead; those whom they make up there, whom they have had from their first youth there, who have received all their Learning from their beggarly and fragmentary way of Dictates there, and were never grounded in our Schools nor Universities, have prov'd but weak maintainers of that cause, compar'd with those men of the first times.

[2 Kings 18.19–35] [2 Sam. 16.5–8]

John 17.12

As *Plato* says of a particular natural body, he that will cure an ill *Eye,* must cure the *Head;* he that will cure the *Head,* must cure the *Body;* and he that will cure the *Body,* must cure the *Soul;* that is, must bring the Minde to a temperature, a moderation, an equanimity; so in Civil Bodies, in States, Head, and Eye, and Body; Prince, and Council,

and People, do all receive their health and welfare from the pureness of *Religion:* And therefore, as the chiefest of all, I chose to insist upon
1390 that Blessing, That God hath given us a Religious King, and *Religious out of his Understanding.* His other Vertues work upon several conditions of men; by this Blessing, the whole Body is blest. And therefore not only they which have been *salted with the salt of the Court,* Ezra 4.14
as it is said of the Kings Servants; but all that are *salted with the salt of the Earth,* (as Christ calls his Church, his Apostles) all that love to Matth. 5.13
have salt in themselves, and peace with one another, all that are sen- Mark 9.50
sible of the Spiritual life, and growth, and good taste that they have by the Gospel, are bound to praise him, to magnifie him for ever, that hath vouchsafed us a Religious King, and *Religious out of Under-*
1400 *standing.*

Many other happinesses are rooted in the love of the Subject; and of his confidence in their love, his very *absence* from us is an argument to us. His continual abode with us hath been an argument of his love to us; and this *long Progress* of his is an argument of his assurance of our loyalty to him. It is an argument also of the good habitude and constitution to which he hath brought this State, and how little harm they that wish ill to it, are able to do, upon any advantage; *Hanc in vobis fiduciam pertimescunt;* This confidence of his *Mamertinus*
makes his *home-enemies* more afraid, then his *Laws,* or his *Train'd-* *Maximiano*
1410 *Bands; Et contemni se sentiunt, cum relinquuntur;* When they are left to their own malignity, and to do their worst, they discern in that, how despicable and contemptible a party they are. *Cum in interiora Imperii seceditis,* when the King may go so far from the heart of his Kingdom, and the enemy be able to make no use of his absence, this makes them see the desperateness of their vain imaginations. He is not gone from us; for a *Noble* part of this Body, (our Nation) is gone with him, and a *Royal* part of his Body stays with us. Neither is the farthest place that he goes to, any other then *ours,* now, when, as the *Roman* Orator said; *Nunc demum juvat orbem terrarum spectare* *Eumenius*
1420 *depictum, cum in illo nihil videmus alienum;* Now it is a comfort to look upon a Map of the World, when we can see nothing in it that is not our own; so we may say, Now it is a pleasant sight to look upon a *Map of this Island,* when it is all *one.* As we had him at first, and shall have him again, from that Kingdom, where the *natural days*

are longer then ours are, so may he have longer days with us, then ever any of our Princes had; and as he hath *Immortalitatem propriam sibi, filium sibi similem,* (as it was said of *Constantine,*) a peculiar immortality, not to die, because he shall live in his Son; so in the fulness of time, and in the accomplishment of Gods purposes upon him, may he have the happiness of the *other Immortality,* and peacefully surrender all his Crowns in exchange of one, a Crown of immortal glory, which the Lord the righteous Judge lay up for him against that day.

To conclude all, and to go the right way from things which we *see,* to things which we *see not,* by consideration of the *King,* to the contemplation of *God;* since God hath made us his *Tenants* of this World, we are bound, not only to pay our *Rents,* (*spiritual* duties and services towards him,) but we are bound to *reparations* too, to contribute our help to society, and such external duties as belong to the maintenance of this world, in which Almighty God hath chosen to be glorified. If we have these two, *Pureness of heart,* and *Grace of lips,* then we do these two; we pay our *Rent,* and we keep the world in *reparation;* and we shall pass through all those steps and gradations, which St. *Ambrose* harmoniously, melodiously expresses, to be *servi per timorem,* to be the servants of God, and live in his *fear;* to be *mercenarij per laborem,* to be the workmen of God, and labour in his Vineyard; to be *filij per lavacrum,* to be the sons of God, and preserve that Inheritance which was sealed to us at first, in *Baptism;* and last of all, *Amici per virtutem,* by the good use of his gifts, the King of Kings shall be our friend. That which he said to his *Apostles,* his Spirit shall say to our spirit here, and seal it to us for a Covenant of Salt, an everlasting, an irrevocable Covenant, *Henceforth call I you not servants, but I have called you friends, for all things that I have heard of my Father, have I made known unto you.* And the fruition of this friendship, which neither slackens in all our life, nor ends at our death, the Lord of Life, for the death of his most innocent Son, afford to us all. Amen.

Ambros.

John 15.15

Number 4.

A Sermon Preached at White-hall, Novemb. 2. 1617.

PSAL. 55.19. *BECAUSE THEY HAVE NO CHANGES, THEREFORE THEY FEAR NOT GOD.*

IN A PRISON, where men wither'd in a close and perpetual imprisonment; In a Galley, where men were chain'd to a laborious and perpetual slavery; In places, where any change that could come, would put them in a better state, then they were before, this might seem a fitter Text, then in a Court, where every man having set his foot, or plac'd his hopes upon the present happy state, and blessed Government, every man is rather to be presum'd to love God, because there are no changes, then to take occasion of murmuring at the constancie of Gods goodness towards us. But because the first murmuring at their present condition, the first Innovation that ever was, was in Heaven; The Angels kept not their first Estate: Though as Princes are Gods, so their well-govern'd Courts, are Copies, and representations of Heaven; yet the Copy cannot be better then the Original: And therefore, as Heaven it self had, so all Courts will ever have, some persons, that are under the Increpation of this Text, That, *Because they have no changes, therefore they fear not God:* At least, if I shall meet with no conscience, that finds in himself a guiltiness of this sin, if I shall give him no occasion of repentance, yet I shall give him occasion of praysing, and magnifying that gracious God, which hath preserv'd him from such sins, as other men have fallen into, though he have not: For, I shall let him see first, The dangerous slipperiness, the concurrence, the co-incidence of sins; that a habit and custom of sin, slips easily into that dangerous degree of Obduration, that men come to sin upon Reason; they find a *Quia,* a Cause, a Reason *Divisio*

why they should sin: and then, in a second place, he shall see, what perverse and frivolous reasons they assign for their sins, when they are come to that; even that which should avert them, they make the cause of them, *Because they have no changes.* And then, lastly, by this perverse mistaking, they come to that infatuation, that dementation, as that they loose the principles of all knowledge, and all wisedom: *The fear of God is the beginning of wisedom;* and, *Because they have no changes, they fear not God.*

Part 1 First then, We enter into our first Part, The slipperiness of habitual sin, with that note of S. *Gregorie, Peccatum cum voce, est culpa cum actione; peccatum cum clamore, est culpa cum libertate;* Sinful thoughts produc'd into actions, are speaking sins; sinful actions continued into habits, are crying sins. There is a sin before these; a speechless sin, a whispering sin, which no body hears, but our own conscience; which is, when a sinful thought or purpose is born in our hearts, first we rock it, by tossing, and tumbling it in our fancies, and imaginations, and by entertaining it with delight and consent, and with remembring, with how much pleasure we did the like sin before, and how much we should have, if we could bring this to pass; And as we rock it, so we swathe it, we cover it, with some pretences, some excuses, some hopes of coveraling it; and this is that, which we call *Morosam delectationem,* a delight to stand in the air and prospect of a sin, and a loathness to let it go out of our sight. Of this sin S. *Gregory* sayes nothing in this place, but onely of actual sins, which he calls *speaking;* and of habitual, which he calls *crying sins.* And this is as far, as the Schools, or the Casuists do ordinarily trace sin; To find out *peccata Infantia,* speechless sins, in the heart; *peccata vocatia,* speaking sins, in our actions; And *peccata clamantia,* crying and importunate sins, which will not suffer God to take his rest, no nor to fulfil his own Oath, and protestation: He hath said, *As I live, I would not the death of a sinner;* and they extort a death from him. But besides these, Here is a farther degree, beyond speaking sins, and crying sins; beyond actual sins and habitual sins; here are *peccata cum ratione,* and *cum disputatione;* we will reason, we will debate, we will dispute it out with God, and we will conclude against all his Arguments, that there is a *Quia,* a Reason, why we should proceed and go forward in our sin: *Et pudet non esse impudentes,* as S. *Au-*

[Ezek. 33.11]

gustine heightens this sinful disposition; Men grow asham'd of all holy shamefac'dness, and tenderness toward sin; they grow asham'd to be put off, or frighted from their sinful pleasure, with the ordinary terror of Gods imaginary judgements; asham'd to be no wiser then S. *Paul* would have them, to be mov'd, or taken hold of, *by the foolishness of preaching;* or to be no stronger of themselves then so, that we should trust to anothers taking of our infirmities, and bearing of our sicknesses; Or to be no richer, or no more provident then so, To sell all, and give it away, and make a treasure in Heaven, and all this for fear of Theeves, and Rust, and Canker, and Moths here. That which is not allowable in Courts of Justice, in criminal Causes, To hear Evidence against the King, we will admit against God; we will hear Evidence against God; we will hear what mans reason can say in favor of the Delinquent, why he should be condemned; why God should punish the soul eternally, for the momentany pleasures of the body: Nay, we suborn witnesses against God, and we make Philosophy and Reason speak against Religion, and against God; though indeed, *Omne verum, omni vero consentiens;* whatsoever is true in Philosophy, is true in Divinity too; howsoever we distort it, and wrest it to the contrary. We hear Witnesses, and we suborn Witnesses against God; and we do more; we proceed by Recriminations, and a cross Bill, with a *Quia Deus,* because God does as he does, we may do as we do; Because God does not punish Sinners, we need not forbear sins. Whilst we sin strongly, by oppressing others, that are weaker, or craftily by circumventing others that are simple, This is but *Leoninum,* and *Vulpinum,* that tincture of the Lyon, and of the Fox, that brutal nature that is in us. But when we come to sin, upon reason, and upon discourse, upon Meditation, and upon plot, This is *Humanum,* to become the Man of Sin, to surrender that, which is the Form, and Essence of man, Reason, and understanding, to the service of sin. When we come to sin wisely and learnedly, to sin logically, by a *Quia,* and an *Ergo,* that, Because God does thus, we may do as we do, we shall come to sin through all the Arts, and all our knowledge, To sin Grammatically, to tie sins together in construction, in a Syntaxis, in a chaine, and dependance, and coherence upon one another: And to sin Historically, to sin over sins of other men again, to sin by precedent, and to practice that which we had read: And we come to sin

1 Cor. 1.21

Matth. 8.[17]

Luc. 12.[33]

Rhetorically, perswasively, powerfully; and as we have found examples for our sins in History, so we become examples to others, by our sins, to lead and encourage them, in theirs; when we come to employ upon sin, that which is the essence of man, Reason, and discourse, we will also employ upon it, those which are the properties of man onely, which are, To speak, and to laugh; we will come to speak, and talk, and to boast of our sins, and at last, to laugh and jest at our sins; and as we have made sin a Recreation, so we will make a jest of our condemnation. And this is the dangerous slipperiness of sin, to slide by Thoughts and Actions, and Habits, to contemptuous obduration.

Part II Now amongst the manifold perversnesses and incongruities of this artificial sinning, of sinning upon Reason, upon a *quia,* and an *ergo,* of arguing a cause for our sin; this is one, That we never assigne the right cause: we impute our sin to our Youth, to our Constitution, to our Complexion; and so we make our sin our Nature: we impute it to our Station, to our Calling, to our Course of life; and so we make our sin our Occupation: we impute it to Necessity, to Perplexity, that we must necessarily do that, or a worse sin; and so we make our sin our Direction. We see the whole world is *Ecclesia malignantium,* a Synagogue, a Church of wicked men; and we think it a Schismatical thing, to separate our selves from that Church, and we are loth to be excommunicated in that Church; and so we apply our selves to that, we do as they do, with the wicked we are wicked; and so we make our sin our Civility. And though it be some degree of injustice, to impute all our particular sins, to the devil himself, after a habit of sin hath made us *spontaneos dæmones,* devils to our selves; yet we do come too near an imputing our sins to God himself, when we place such an impossibility in his Commandments, as makes us lazie, that because we cannot do all, therefore we will do nothing; or such a manifestation and infallibility in his Decree, as makes us either secure, or desperate; and say, The Decree hath sav'd me, therefore I can take no harm; or, The Decree hath damn'd me, therefore I can do no good. No man can assigne a reason in the Sun, why his body casts a shadow: why all the place round about him, is illumin'd by the Sun, the reason is in the Sun; but of his shadow, there is no other reason, but the grosness of his own body: why there is any beam of

Psal. 26.5

Chrysost.

light, any spark of life, in my soul, he that is the Lord of light and life, and would not have me die in darkness, is the onely cause; but of the shadow of death, wherein I sit, there is no cause, but mine own corruption. And this is the cause, why I do sin; but why I should sin, there is none at all.

Yet in this Text the Sinner assignes a cause; and it is, *Quia non mutationes,* Because they have no Changes. God hath appointed that earth, which he hath given to the sons of men, to rest, and stand still; and that heaven which he reserves for those sons of men, who are also the sons of God, he hath appointed to stand still too: All that is between heaven and earth, is in perpetual motion, and vicissitude; but all that is appointed for man, mans possession here, mans reversion hereafter, earth and heaven, is appointed for rest, and stands still; and therefore God proceeds in his own way, and declares his love most, where there are fewest Changes. This rest of heaven, he hath expressed often, by the name of a *Kingdom,* as in that Petition, *Thy kingdom come:* And that rest which is to be derived upon us, here in earth, he expresses in the same phrase too, when having presented to the children of *Israel,* an Inventary and Catalogue of all his former blessings, he concludes all, includes all in this one, *Et prosperata es in regnum,* I have advanced thee to be a kingdom: which form, God hath not onely still preserv'd to us, but hath also united Kingdoms together; and to give us a stronger body, and safer from all Changes, whereas he hath made up other Kingdoms, of Towns and Cities, he hath made us a Kingdom of Kingdoms, and given us as many Kingdoms to our Kingdom, as he hath done Cities to some other. Gods gracious purpose then to men, being Rest, and a contented Reposedness in the works of their several Callings; and his purpose being declared upon us, in the establishing and preserving of such a Kingdom, as hath the best Body, (best united in it self, and knit together) and the best Legs to stand upon, (Peace and Plenty) and the best Soul to inanimate and direct it, (Truth of Religion) and the best Spirits to make all parts answerable and useful to one another, (Wisdom and Vigilancie in the Prince, Gratitude and Chearfulness in the Subject:) And since God hath gone so far, once in our time already, in expressing his care of our Rest and Quiet, as to give us a Change without Change, an alteration of Persons, and not of Things, that we

[Ezek. 16.13]

saw old things done away, in the Secession of one, and all things made new in the Succession of another Soveraign, and all this new-
Psal. 76.8 ness done without Innovation; so that, as *David* says of the whole earth, we might say again of this Land, *Terra tremuit & quievit,* The earth shak'd, and stood still at once; it was all one act, to have been afraid, and to have been instantly secur'd again, since nothing beyond that, nothing equal to that Change, can be imagin'd by us from
180 God; may it be ever his gracious pleasure, to continue to us, the enjoying of our present Rest, without shewing us any more Changes. As (to end this Branch) it were a strange enormity, a strange perverseness in any man, to plant a Garden in any place, therefore, because he foresaw an Earthquake in that place, that would disorder and discompose his Garden again; or to build in any place therefore, because the fire were likeliest to take hold of that street; that is, to make any thing the cause of an action, which should naturally enforce the contrary: so is it an irreligious distemper, to be the bolder in sin, because *we have no Changes,* or to defer our conversion from sin, till
190 Changes, till Afflictions come. For, Satan knew the air, and complexion, and disposition of the world, well enough: he argued not impertinently, nor frivolously, for the general, though he were de-
2.5 ceived in the particular, in *Job,* when he said to God, *Stretch out thy hand, and touch his bones, and his flesh, and see if he will not blaspheme thee to thy face.* Afflictions, and Changes in this life, do not always direct us upon God: The displeasure of a Prince may
1 Thess. 4.11 make a harsh person more supple, more appliable then before; his graces receiv'd may make him more accessible, more equal, more obsequious, then before: and losses and forfeitures sustain'd, or
200 threatned, may make him more apt to give, to bleed out, to redeem his dangers, then before: But these Changes do not always make him an honester man, nor a better Christian then before. And therefore, says the Apostle, *Study to be quiet;* Labour to finde a testimony of Gods love to you, in your present estate, and never put your self, either for temporal, or spiritual amendment, upon Changes.

To proceed then: This shutting up of themselves against the fear of God, is not meerly *quia non mutationes,* because there are no changes; but, *quia non illis,* because *They* have no changes. It is a dangerous preterition, not to bring a mans self into Consideration;

but to consider no man but himself, to make himself the measure of all, is as dangerous a narrowness. The Epigrammatist describes the Atheist so, That he desires no better argument to prove that there is no God, but that he sees himself, *Dum negat ista beatum,* prosper well enough, though he do not believe this prosperity to proceed from God. What miseries soever fall upon others, affect not him. He may have seen, since he was born, the greatest Kingdom in Christendom likely to have been broken in pieces, and canton'd into petty Seigniories, and so left no Kingdom: he may have seen such a danger upon our next neighbours, as that, when the powerfullest Enemy in Christendom hung over their heads, and lay upon their backs, they bred a more dangerous enemy in their own bosomes, and bowels, by tearing themselves in pieces, with Differences, in Points of subdivided Religion, and impertinent Scruples, unjustly call'd Points of Religion; in which, men leave Peace, and Unity, and Charity, the true ways of Salvation, and will enquire nothing, but how soon, how early God damn'd them: They must know, *sub quibus Consulibus,* in whose Reign, in whose Mayoralty, what hour of the day, and what minute of that hour, Gods eternal Decree of Election or Reprobation was made. Many, very many of these Changes he may have seen and heard; but all these he hears, as though he heard them out of *Livie,* or out of *Berosus,* or in Letters from *China,* or *Japan;* and not as though they concern'd his Time, or his Place, or his Observation. To contract this: We have all been either in Wars, and seen men fall at our right hand, and at our left, by the Bullet; or at Sea, and seen our Consort sunk by Tempest, or taken by Pyrates; or in the Citie, and seen the Pestilence devour our Parents above us, our Children below us, our Friends round about us; or in the Court, and seen Gods judgements overtake the most secure, and confident: we have all seen such Changes as these everywhere; but *quia non nobis,* because the Bullet, the Shipwrack, the Pyrate, the Pestilence, the Judgements have not reach'd us, in our particular persons, they have not imprinted the fear of God in us.

Non habent

And the word of the Text, carries it farther then so: it is not because *There are no Changes,* for they abound; nor because *They have had none,* for none escapes; but it is, *Quia non habent,* because they have no present, nor imminent danger in their contemplation now; be-

cause no affliction lies upon them now, therefore they are secure. It is not *Quia non habuerunt;* every person, every State, every Church, hath had Changes: Because the Romane Church will needs be all the world, we may consider all the world in her, so far; she hath had such a Change, as hath awakened other Princes to re-assume, and to restore to themselves, and their Crowns, their just Dignities; so she hath had a Change in Honour and Estimation. She hath had such a Change, as hath contracted and brought her into a narrower channel, and call'd in her overflowings; so she hath had a Change in Power and Jurisdiction. She hath had such a Change, as hath lessened her Temporal treasure everywhere, and utterly abolished her imaginary Spiritual treasure, in many places; she hath had a change in Means, and Profit, and Revenue: she hath had such a change, as that they who by Gods commandment are *come out from her,* have been equal, even in number, to them who have adhered to her; such a change, as hath made her Doctrines appear, some to be *the doctrines of men,* and some *the doctrines of devils:* such a change in Reputation, in Jurisdiction, and in Revenue, and in Power, and in manifestation of her Disguises, she hath had: But *quia non habet,* because she decays not every day, the Reformation seems to her to be come to a period, as high as it shall go: Because she hath a mis-apprehension of some faintness, some declinableness towards her again, even in some of our Professors themselves, who (as she thinks) come as near to her, as they dare: Because she hath gained of late upon many of the weaker sex, *women laden with sin;* and of weaker fortunes, men laden with debts; and of weaker consciences, souls laden with scruples; therefore she imagines that she hath seen the worst, and is at an end of her change; though this be not indeed a running, an ebbing back of the main River, but onely a giddy and circular Eddy, in some shallow places of the stream, (which stream, God be blessed, runs on still currantly, and constantly, and purely, and intemerately, as before) yet because her corrections are not multiplied, because her absolute Ruine is not accelerated, she hath some false conceptions of a general returning towards her, and she sears up her self against all sense of Truth, and all tenderness of Peace; and because she hath rid out one storm, in *Luther* and his successors, therefore she *fears not the Lord* for any other, *Quia non habent, Because she hath no changes,* now.

[Apoc. 18.4]

[Col. 2.22; 1 Tim. 4.1]

[2 Tim. 3.6]

Habuerunt then, They have had changes; and *Habebunt,* They shall have more, and greater: *Impii non stabunt,* says *David,* The wicked shall not stand: In how low ground soever they stand, and in how great torment soever they stand, yet they shall not stand there, but sink to worse; and at last, *non stabunt in judicio,* They shall not [Psa. 1.5]
stand in judgement, but fall there, from whence there is no rising: *Non stabunt:* They shall not stand, though they think they shall; they shall counterfeit the Seals of the Holy Ghost, and delude themselves with imaginary certitudes of Salvation, and illusory apprehensions of Decrees of Election: nay, *non stabunt,* They shall not be able to think that they shall stand: that which the Apostle saith, *Let him* 1 Cor. 10.12
that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall, belongs onely to the godly; onely they can think, deliberately, and upon just examination of the marks and evidences of the Elect, that they shall stand: God shall suffer the wicked to sink down, not to a godly sense of
their infirmity, and holy remorse of the effects thereof; but yet lower then that, to a diffident jealousie, to a desperate acknowledgement, that they cannot stand in the sight of God: they shall have no true rest at last: they shall not stand; nay, they shall not have that half, that false comfort by the way; they shall not be able to flatter themselves by the way, with that imagination that they shall stand.

Now, both the ungodly, and godly too, must have Changes: in matter of Fortune, changes are common to them both: and then, in all, of all conditions, *Mortalitas Mutabilitas,* says St. *Augustine:* even this, That we must die, is a continual change. The very same word,
which is here, *kalaph,* is in *Job* also: *All the days of my appointed* 14.14
time, till my changing come. And because this word which we translate *changing,* is there spoken in the person of a righteous man, some Translators have rendred that place, *Donec veniat sancta nativitas* *Symma.*
mea, Till I be born again: the change, the death of such men, is a better birth: And so the Chaldee Paraphrasts, the first Exposition of the Bible, have express'd it, *Quousque rursus fiam,* Till I be made up again by death: He does not stay to call the Resurrection a making up; but this death, this dissolution, this change, is a new creation; this Divorce is a new Marriage; this very Parting of the soul, is an
Infusion of a soul, and a Transmigration thereof out of my bosome, into the bosom of *Abraham.* But yet, though it is all this, yet it is a

Bernard change; *Maxima mutatio est Mutabilitatis in Immutabilitatem,* To be changed so, as that we can never be changed more, is the greatest change of all. All must be changed so far, as to die: yea, those who shall, in some sort, escape that death; those whom the last day shall surprise upon earth, though *they shall not die,* yet *they shall be changed. Statutum est omnibus, semel mori,* All men must die once; we live all under that Law. But *statutum nemini bis mori:* since the promise of a Messiah, there is no Law, no Decree, by which any man must necessarily die twice; a Temporal death, and a Spiritual death too. It is not the Man, but the Sinner, that dies the second death: God sees sin in that man, or else that man had never seen the second death. So we shall all have one change, besides those which we have all had; good and bad must die: but the men in this text, shall have two. But whatsoever changes are upon others in the world, whatsoever upon themselves; whatsoever they have had, whatsoever they are sure to have; yet, *Quia non habent, non timent Deum;* Because they have none now, they fear not God. And so we are come to our third and last part.

Heb. 9.27

Part III. *Non timent*

They fear not God: This is such a state, as if a man who had been a Schoolmaster all his life, and taught others to read, or had been a Critick all his life, and *ingeniosus in alienis,* over-witty in other mens Writings, had read an Author better, then that Author meant, and should come to have use of his Reading to save his life at the Bar, when he had his Book, for some petty Felony, and then should be stricken with the spirit of stupidity, and not be able to read then. Such is the state of the wisest, of the learnedest, of the mightiest in this world: If they fear not God, they have forgot their first letters; they have forgot the basis and foundation of all Power, the reason and the purpose of all Learning, the life and the soul of all Counsel and Wisdom: for, *The fear of God is the beginning of all.* They are all fallen into the danger of the Law; they have all sinn'd: they are offer'd their Book, the merciful promises of God to repentant sinners, in his Word; and they cannot read, they cannot apply them, to their comfort: There is Scripture, but not translated, not transferr'd to them: there is Gospel, but not preached to them; there are Epistles, but not superscribed to them.

Psal. 111.10

It is an hereditary Sentence, and hath pass'd from *David* in his

Psalms, to *Solomon* in his Proverbs, and then to him that glean'd after them both, the Author of *Ecclesiasticus, The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.* All three profess all that, and more then that. It is Blessedness it self, says the father, *David;* Blessedness it self, says the son, *Solomon;* and *Plenitudo Sapientiæ,* and *Omnis Sapientia,* says the other, The fulness of wisdom, and the onely wisdom. *Job* had said it before them all, *Ecce, timor Domini, ipsa est sapientia;* The fear of the Lord, is wisdom it self: And the Prophet *Esai* said it after, of *Ezechias, There shall be stability of thy times, strength, salvation, wisdom, and knowledge; for, the fear of the Lord shall be thy treasure.* It is our supply, if we should fear want, and it is our reason that we cannot fear want; for, he that fears God, fears nothing else. As therefore the Holy Ghost hath placed the *beginning of wisdom* in *this fear;* so hath he the consummation and perfection of this wisdom, even in the perfect pattern of all wisdom, in the person of Christ himself, *The Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon thee, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and of might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of God.* For, without this fear, there is no courage, no confidence, no assurance: And therefore Christ begun his Passion with a fear, in his Agony, *Tristis anima,* My soul is heavie; but that fear delivered him over to a present conformity to the will of God, in his *Veruntamen, Yet not my will, but thine be done:* And he ended his Passion with a fear, *Eli, Eli, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* and that fear deliver'd him over to a present assurance, *In manus tuas Domine,* confidently to commend his spirit into his hands, whom he seem'd to be afraid of.

Since then the Holy Ghost, whose name is *Love;* since God, who is *Love* it self, disposes us to this fear, we may see in that, That neither God himself, nor those of whom God said, *Ye are gods,* that is, all those who have Authority over others, can be lov'd so as they should, except they be fear'd, so as they should be too: If you take away due Fear, you take away true Love. Even that fear of God, which we use to call *servile fear,* which is but an apprehension of punishment, and is not the noblest, the perfectest kinde of fear, yet it is a fear, which our Saviour counsels us to entertain; *Fear him that can cast soul and body into hell;* even that fear, is some beginning of wisdom. That fear *Job* had use of, when he said, *Quid faciam*

Prov. 1.7
Ecclus. 1.[14 and]16
[Ecclus. 1.1 and 16]
28.[28]
33.6
Esai. 11.2
[Mat. 26.38 and 39; Mark 14.34 and 36]
[Mat. 27.46; Mark 15.34]
[Luke 23.46]
[Psa. 82.6]
Matth. 10.[28]
31.[14]

cum surrexerit ad judicandum Deus? Here I may lay hold upon means of Restitution; but when the Lord shall raise himself to judge-
Psal. 119. [120] ment, how shall I stand? So also had *David* use of this fear, *A judiciis tuis timui:* However I was ever confident in thy mercy, yet I
400 was in fear of thy judgement. It is that fear which St. *Basil* directs us
Psal. 34.11 to, upon those words, *Timorem Domini docebo vos,* I will teach you the fear of the Lord, *Cogita profundum barathrum,* To learn to fear God, he sends us to the meditation of the torments of hell. And so it it that fear, which wrought that effect in St. *Hierome: Ego ob Gehennæ metum carcere isto me damnavi;* For fear of that execution, I have shut my self up in this prison; for fear of perishing in the next world, I banish myself from this: There is a beginning, there is a great degree of wisdom, even in this fear.

Now, as the fear of Gods punishments disposes us to love him, so
410 that fear which the Magistrate imprints, by the execution of his Laws, establishes that love which preserves him, from all disestimation and irreverence: for, whom the Enemy does not fear, the Subject does not love. As no Peace is safe enough, where there is no thought of War; so the love of man towards God, and those who represent him, is not permanently setled, if there be not a reverential fear, a due consideration of greatness, a distance, a distinction, a respect of Rank, and Order, and Majestie. If there be not a little fear, by Justice at home, and by power and strength abroad, mingled in it, it is not that love, which God requires, to be first directed upon himself, and then
420 reflected upon his Stewards and Vice-gerents: for, as every Society is not Friendship, so every Familiarity is not Love.

But, to conclude: As he will be fear'd, so he will be fear'd, no otherwise, then as he is God: *Non timuerunt Deum,* is the increpation of the Text, *They feared not God.* It is *timor Dei* and not *timor Jehovæ:* God is not here expressed by the name of *Jehovah,* that unexpressible and unutterable, that incomprehensible and unimaginable name of Jehovah. God calls not upon us, to be consider'd as God in himself, but as God towards us; not as he is in heaven, but as he works upon earth: And here, not in the School, but in the Pulpit; not in Dispu-
430 tation, but in Application. It is not *timor Jehovæ,* nor it is not *timor Adonai:* God does not call himself in this place, *The Lord:* for, to be Lord, to be proprietary of all, this is *potestas tam utendi quam abu-*

tendi, It gives the Lord of that thing power, to do, absolutely, what he will with that which is his: And so, God, as absolute Lord, may damn without respect of sin, if he will; and save without respect of faith, if he will. But God is pleased to proceed with us, according to that Contract which he hath made with us, and that Law which he hath given to us, in those two Tables, *Tantummodo crede, Onely believe, and thy faith shall save thee;* and, *Fac hoc & vives, Live well, and thy good works shall make sure thy salvation.* Lastly, God does not call himself here *Dominum exercituum, The Lord of hosts;* God would not onely be consider'd, and serv'd by us, when he afflicts us with any of his swords, Famine, War, Pestilence, Malice, or the like; but the fear requir'd here, is to fear him as God, and as God presented in this name, *Elohim;* which, though it be a name primarily rooted in power and strength, (for *El* is *Deus fortis,* The powerful God; and as there is no love without fear, so there is no fear without power) yet properly it signifies his Judgment, and Order, and Providence, and Dispensation, and Government of his creatures. It is that name, which goes thorow all Gods whole work of the Creation, and disposition of all creatures, in the first of *Genesis:* in all that, he is call'd by no other name then this, the name *God;* not by *Jehovah,* to present an infinite Majestie; nor by *Adonai,* to present an absolute power; nor by *Tzebaoth,* to present a Force, or Conquest: but onely in the name of *God,* his name of Government. All ends in this; To fear God, is to adhere to him, in his way, as he hath dispensed and notified himself to us; that is, as God is manifested in Christ, in the Scriptures, and applied to us out of those Scriptures, by the Church: not to rest in Nature without God, nor in God without Christ, nor in Christ without the Scriptures, nor in our private interpretation of Scripture, without the Church. Almighty God fill us with these fears, these reverences; that we may reverence him, who shall at last bring us, where there shall be no more changes; and hath already plac'd us in such a Government, as being to us a Type and Representation of the Kingdom of heaven, we humbly beg, may evermore continue with us, without changes, in Government, or in Religion. *Amen.*

[Mark 5.36] [Luke 10.28]

Number 5.

A Sermon Preached to Queen Anne, at Denmarke-house. December. 14. 1617.

PROVERBS 8.17. *I LOVE THEM THAT LOVE ME, AND THEY THAT SEEK ME EARLY SHALL FIND ME.*

AS THE PROPHETS, and the other Secretaries of the holy Ghost in penning the books of Scriptures, do for the most part retain, and express in their writings some impressions, and some air of their former professions; those that had been bred in Courts and Cities, those that had been Shepheards and Heardsmen, those that had been Fishers, and so of the rest; ever inserting into their writings some phrases, some metaphors, some allusions, taken from that profession which they had exercised before; so that soul, that hath been transported upon any particular worldly pleasure, when it is intirely turn'd upon God, and the contemplation of his all-sufficiency and abundance, doth find in God fit subject, and just occasion to exercise the same affection piously, and religiously, which had before so sinfully transported, and possest it.

A covetous person, who is now truly converted to God, he will exercise a spiritual covetousness still, he will desire to have him all, he will have good security, the seal and assurance of the holy Ghost; and he will have his security often renewed by new testimonies, and increases of those graces in him; he will have witnesses enough; he will have the testimonie of all the world, by his good life and conversation; he will gain every way at Gods hand, he will have wages of God, for he will be his servant; he will have a portion from God, for he will be his Son; he will have a reversion, he will be sure that his name is in the book of life; he will have pawns, the seals of the Sacraments, nay, he will have a present possession; all that God hath

promised, all that Christ hath purchased, all that the holy Ghost hath the stewardship and dispensation of, he will have all in present, by the appropriation and investiture of an actual and applying faith; a covetous person converted will be spiritually covetous still.

So will a voluptuous man, who is turned to God, find plenty and deliciousnes enough in him, to feed his soul, as with marrow, and with fatness, as *David* expresses it; and so an angry and passionate man, will find zeal enough in the house of God to eat him up.

All affections which are common to all men, and those too, which in particular, particular men have been addicted unto, shall not only be justly employed upon God, but also securely employed, because we cannot exceed, nor go too far in imploying them upon him. According to this Rule, St. *Paul,* who had been so vehement a persecutor, had ever his thoughts exercised upon that; and thereupon after his conversion, he fulfils the rest of the sufferings of Christ in his flesh, he suffers most, he makes most mention of his suffering of any of the Apostles. Col. 1.[24]

And according to this Rule too, *Salomon,* whose disposition was amorous, and excessive in the love of women, when he turn'd to God, he departed not utterly from his old phrase and language, but having put a new, and a spiritual tincture, and form and habit into all his thoughts, and words, he conveyes all his loving approaches and applications to God, and all Gods gracious answers to his amorous soul, into songs, and Epithalamions, and meditations upon contracts, and marriages between God and his Church, and between God and his soul; as we see so evidently in all his other writings, and particularly in this text, *I love them, &c.*

In which words is expressed all that belongs to love, all which, is to desire, and to enjoy; for to desire without fruition, is a rage, and to enjoy without desire is a stupidity: In the first alone we think of nothing, but that which we then would have; and in the second alone, we are not for that, when we have it; in the first, we are without it; in the second, we are as good as if we were without it, for we have no pleasure in it; nothing then can give us satisfaction, but where those two concurr, *amare* and *frui,* to love and to enjoy.

In sensual love it is so; *Quid erat quod me delectabat nisi amare et amari?* I tooke no joy in this world, but in loving, and in being *August.* [*Confessiones,* L. II.2]

beloved; in sensual love it is so, but in sensual love, when we are come so far, there is no satisfaction in that; the same Father confesseth more of himself, then any Commission, any oath would have put him to, *Amatus sum, et perveni occulte ad fruendum,* I had all I desir'd, and I had it with that advantage of having it secretly; but what got I by all that, *Ut cæderer virgis ardentibus ferreis, zeli suspicionis et rixarum;* nothing but to be scourg'd with burning iron rods, rods of jealousie, of suspition, and of quarrels; but in the love and enjoying of this text, there is no room for Jealousie, nor suspition, nor quarrelsome complaining.

Divisio

In this text then you may be pleased to consider these two things, *Quid amare, quid frui,* what the affection of this love is, what is the blessedness of this enjoying; but in the first of these, we must first consider the persons, who are the lovers in this text; for there are persons that are incredible, though they say they love, because they are accustomed to falshood; and there are persons which are unrequitable, though they be believed to love, because they love not where, and as they should. When we have found the persons, in a second consideration we shall look upon the affection it self, what is the love in this text; and then after that, upon the bond, and union and condition of this love, that it is mutual, *I love them that love me;* and having passed those three branches of the first part, we shall in the second, which is enjoying, consider first, that this enjoying, is expressed in the word finding; and then that this finding requires two conditions, a seeking, and an early seeking, *And they that seek me early shall find me.*

First part. The Person

The Person that professes love in this place is wisdom her self, as appears at the beginning of the Chapter; so that *sapere et amare,* to be wise and to love, which perchance never met before nor since, are met in this text: but whether this wisdom, so frequently mentioned in this book of *Proverbs,* be *sapientia creata* or *increata,* whether it be the vertue wisdom, or the root of wisdom, Christ Jesus, hath been diversly debated: the occasion grew in that great Councel of *Nice,* where the Catholick Fathers understood this wisdom, to be intended of Christ himself, and then the Arrian hereticks pressed some places of this book, where such things seemed to them to be spoken of wisdom, as could not be applyable to any but to a Creature;

and that therefore if Christ were this wisdom, Christ must necessarily be a Creature, and not God.

We will not dispute those things over again now, they are clearly enough, and largely enough set down in that Councel; but since there is nothing said of wisdom in all this book, which hath not been by good expositors applied to Christ, much more may we presume the lover in this text, (though presented in the name of wisdom) to be Christ himself, and so we do.

To shew the constancy and durableness of this love, the lover is a he, that is Christ; to show the vehemency and earnestness of it, the lover is a shee, that is wisdom, as it is often expressed in this Chapter, *She crieth, she uttereth her voice;* yea in one place of the Bible (and only in that one place I think) where *Moses* would express an extraordinary, and vehement and passionate indignation in God against his people, when as it is in that text, *his wrath was kindled,* and grievously kindled, there and only there doth *Moses* attribute even to God himself the feminine sex, and speaks to God in the original language, as if he should have call'd him *Deam Iratam,* an angry she God; all that is good then, either in the love of man or woman is in this love; for he is expressed in both sexes, man and woman; and all that can be ill in the love of either sex, is purged away, for the man is no other man then Christ Jesus, and the woman no other woman, then wisdom her self, even the uncreated wisdom of God himself. Num. 11.15

Now all this is but one person, the person that professes love; who is the other, who is the beloved of Christ, is not so easily discern'd: in the love between persons in this world, and of this world, we are often deceived with outward signs; we often mis-call and mis-judg civil respects, and mutual courtesies; and a delight in one anothers conversation, and such other indifferent things, as only malignity, and curiosity, and self-guiltiness, makes to be misinterpretable, we often call these love; but neither amongst our selves, much less between Christ and our selves, are these outward appearances alwaies signs of love.

This person then, this beloved soul, is not every one, to whom Christ sends a loving message, or writes to; for his letters his Scriptures are directed to all; not every one he wishes well to and swears that he does so, for so he doth to all; *As I live* (*saith the Lord*) *I would not the* [Ezek. 33.11]

death of a Sinner; not every one that he sends jewels, and presents to; for they are often snares to corrupt, as well as arguments of love; not though he admit them to his table and supper, for even there the Devil entred into *Judas* with a sop; not though he receive them with a kiss, for even with that familiarity *Judas* betrayed him; not though he betroth himself as he did to the Jews, *sponsabo te mihi in æternum;* not though he make jointures, *in pacto salis,* in a covenant of salt, an everlasting covenant; not though he have communicated his name to them, which is an act of marriage; for to how many hath he said: *ego dixi Dii estis,* I have said you are Gods; and yet they have been reprobates; not all these outward things amount so far, as to make us discern who is this beloved person; for himself saies of the Israelites, to whom he had made all these demonstrations of love, yet after, for their abominations, devorc'd himself from them, *I have forsaken mine house, I have left mine heritage, I have given the dearly beloved of my soul into the hands of her enemies.* To contract this, the person beloved of Christ, is only that soul, that loves Christ; but that belongs to the third branch of this first part, which is the mutual love: but first having found the person, we are to consider the affection it self, the love of this text; it is an observation of *Origens,* that though these three words, *Amor, Dilectio,* and *Charitas,* love, and affection, and good will, be all of one signification in the Scriptures, yet saies he, wheresoever there is danger of representing to the fancy a lascivious and carnal love, the Scripture forbears the word love, and uses either affection, or good will; and where there is no such danger, the Scripture comes directly to this word love, of which *Origens* examples are, that when *Isaac* bent his affections upon *Rebecca,* and *Jacob* upon *Rachel,* in both places it is *dilexit,* and not *amavit;* and when it is said in the *Canticles, I charge you Daughters of Jerusalem to tell my well-beloved,* it is not to tel him that she was in love, but to tell him, *quod vulneratæ charitatis sum;* that I am wounded with an affection and good will towards him; but in this Book of *Proverbs,* in all the passages between Christ and the beloved soul, there is evermore a free use of this word, *Amor,* love; because it is even in the first apprehension, a pure, a chast, and an undefiled love, *Eloquia Dominis casta,* sayes *David,* All the words of the Lord, and all their words that love the

Ose. 2.19 [Num. 18.19] [Psa. 82.6] Jer. 12.7 The Affection [Gen.24.67] [Gen.29.18] Cant. 5.8 [Psa. 12.6]

Lord, all discourses, all that is spoken to or from the soul, is all full of chast love, and of the love of chastity.

Now though this love of Christ to our souls be too large to shut up or comprehend in any definition, yet if we content our selves with the definition of the Schools, *Amare est velle alicui quod bonum est,* love is nothing but a desire, that they whom we love should be happy: we may easily discern the advantage and profit which we have by this love in the Text, when he that wishes us this good, by loving us, is author of all good himself, and may give us as much as pleases him, without impairing his own infinite treasure; He loves us as his ancient inheritance, as the first amongst his creatures in the creation of the world, which he created for us: He loves us more as his purchase, whom he hath bought with his blood; for even man takes most pleasure in things of his own getting; But he loves us most for our improvement, when by his ploughing up of our hearts, and the dew of his grace, and the seed of his word, we come to give a greater rent, in the fruites of sanctification than before. And since he loves us thus, and that in him, this love is *velle bonum,* a desire that his beloved should be happy, what soul amongst us shall doubt, that when God hath such an abundant, and infinite treasure, as the merit and passion of Christ Jesus, sufficient to save millions of worlds, and yet, many millions in this world (all the heathen) excluded from any interest therein; when God hath a kingdome so large, as that nothing limits it, and yet he hath banished many natural subjects thereof, even those legions of Angels which were created in it, and are fallen from it; what soul amongst us shall doubt, but that he that hath thus much, and loves thus much, will not deny her a portion in the blood of Christ or a room in the kingdome of heaven? No soul can doubt it except it have been a witness to it self, and be so still, that it love not Christ Jesus, for that's a condition necessary: And that is the third branch to which we are come now in our order; that this love be mutuall, *I love them that love me.*

Mutual [1 Cor. 16.22]

If any man love not our Lord Jesus, let him be accursed, saies the Apostle; Now the first part of this curse is upon the indisposition to love; he that loves not at all is first accursed. That stupid inconsideration, which passes on drowsilie, and negligently upon Gods creatures, that sullen indifferency in ones disposition, to love one thing no more

than another, not to value, not to chuse, not to prefer, that stoniness, that inhumanity, not to be affected, not to be entendred, toward those things which God hath made objects and subjects of affections; that which St. *Paul* places in the bottome, and lees, and dregs of all the sins of the Jews, to be without natural affections, this distemper, this ill complexion, this ill nature of the soul, is under the first part of this curse, if any man love not; for he that loves not, knows not God, for God is love.

Rom. 1.31

But this curse determins not upon that, neither is it principally directed upon that, not loving; for as we say in the schools, *Amor est primus actus voluntatis,* the first thing that the will of man does, is to affect, to choose, to love something; and it is scarce possible to find any mans will so idle, so barren, as that it hath produced no act at all; and therefore the first act being love, scarce any man can be found, that doth not love something: But the curse extends, yea is principally intended upon him that loves not Christ Jesus; though he love the creature, and orderly enough; yea though he love God, as a great and incomprehensible power, yet if he love not Christ Jesus, if he acknowledg not, that all that passes between God and him, is in, and for Christ Jesus, let him be accursed, for all his love.

Now there are but two that can be loved, God and the Creature: and of the creatures, that must necessarily be best loved, which is neerest us, which we understand best and reflect most upon, and that's our selves; for, for the love of other creatures, it is but a secondary love; if we love God, we love them for his sake; if we love our selves, we love them for our sakes: Now to love ones selfe is only allowable, only proper to God himself; for this love is a desire, that all honor, and praise, and glory should be attributed to ones self, and it can be only proper to God to desire that: To love our selves then, is the greatest treason we can commit against God; and all love of the creatures, determines in the love of our selves: for though sometimes we may say, that we love them better than our selves; and though we give so good (that is indeed, so ill testimony) that we do so, that we neglect our selves, both our religion and our discretion for their sakes, whom we pretend to love, yet all this is but a secondary love, and with relation still to our selves and our own contentment: for is this love which we bear to other creatures, within that definition of love, *Velle*

bonum amato, to wish that which we love happy? doth any ambitious man love honor or office therefore, because he thinks that title, or that place should receive a dignity by his having it, or an excellency by his executing it? doth any covetous man love a house or horse therefore, because he thinks that house or horse should be happy in such a Master or such a Rider? doth any licentious man covet or solicite a woman therefore, because he thinks it a happiness to her, to have such a servant? No, it is only himself that is within the definition, *vult bonum sibi,* he wishes well (as he mistakes it) to himself, and he is content, that the slavery, and dishonor, and ruin of others should contribute to make up his imaginary happiness.

O dementiam nescientem amare homines humaniter! what a perverse madness is it, to love a creature and not as a creature, that is, with all the adjuncts, and circumstances, and qualities of a creature, of which the principal is that, that love raise us to the contemplation of the Creator; for if it do so, we may love our selves, as we are the Images of God; and so we may love other men, as they are the Images of us, and our nature; yea, as they are the members of the same body; for *omnes homines una humanitas,* all men make up but one mankind, and so we love other creatures, as we all meet in our Creator, in whom Princes and Subjects, Angels and men, and wormes are fellow servants. *August.*

Si malè amaveris tunc odisti; If thou hast lov'd thy self, or any body else principally; or so, that when thou dost any act of love, thou canst not say to thine own conscience, I do this for Gods sake, and for his glory; if thou hast loved so, thou hast hated thy self, and him whom thou hast loved, and God whom thou shouldest love. *August.*

Si benè oderis, saies the same Father, If thou hast hated as thou shouldst hate, if thou hast hated thine own internal tentations, and the outward solicitations of others, *Amasti,* then thou hast expressed a manifold act of love, of love to thy God, and love to his Image, thy self, and love to thine Image, that man whom thy virtue and thy example hath declined, and kept from offending his, and thy God.

And as this affection, love, doth belong to God principally, that is, rather then to any thing else, so doth it also principally another way, that is, rather then any affection else; for, *the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom,* but the love of God is the consummation, that is, the marriage, and union of thy soul, and thy Saviour. [Psa. 111. 10; Prov. 9. 10]

But can we love God when we will? do we not find, that in the love of some other things, or some courses of life, of some waies in our actions, and of some particular persons, that we would fain love them, and cannot? when we can object nothing against it, when we can multiply arguments, why we should love them, yet we cannot: but it is not so towards God; every man may love him, that will; but can every man have this will, this desire? certainly we cannot begin this love; except God love us first, we cannot love him; but God doth love us all so well, from the beginning, as that every man may see the fault was in the perversness of his own will, that he did not love God better. If we look for the root of this love, it is in the Father; for, though the death of Christ be towards us, as a root, as a cause of our love, and of the acceptableness of it, yet, *Meritum Christi est affectum amoris Dei erga nos,* the death of Christ was but an effect of the love of God towards us, *So God loved the world that he gave his Son:* if he had not lov'd us first, we had never had his Son; here is the root then, the love of the Father, and the tree, the merit of the Son; except there be fruit too, love in us, to them again, both root and tree will wither in us, howsoever they grew in God. *I have loved thee with an everlasting love,* (saies God) *therfore with mercy I have drawn thee,* if therefore we do not perceive, that we are drawn to love again by this love, 'tis not an everlasting love, that shines upon us.

August.

[Joh. 3.16]

Jer. 31.3

All the sunshine, all the glory of this life, though all these be testimonies of Gods love to us, yet all these bring but a winters day, a short day, and a cold day, and a dark day, for except we love too, God doth not love with an everlasting love: God will not suffer his love to be idle, and since it profits him nothing, if it profits us nothing neither, he will withdraw it; *Amor Dei ut lumen ignis, ut splendor solis, ut odor lucis, non præbenti proficit, sed utenti,* The sun hath no benefit by his own light, nor the fire by his own heat, nor a perfume by the sweetness thereof, but only they who make their use, and enjoy this heat and fragrancy; And this brings us to our other part, to pass from loving to enjoying.

Ambrose

2 Part

Tulerunt Dominum meum, They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him; this was one strain of *Mary Magdalens* lamentation, when she found not her Saviour in the monument: It is a lamentable case to be fain to cry so, *Tulerunt,* They

[Joh. 20.13]

have taken, other men have taken away Christ, by a dark and corrupt education, which was the state of our Fathers to the Roman captivity. But when the *abjecerunt Dominum,* which is so often complained of by God in the Prophets, is pronounced against thee, when thou hast had Christ offered to thee, by the motions of his grace, and seal'd to thee by his Sacraments, and yet wilt cast him so far from thee, that thou knowest not where to find him, when thou hast poured him out at thine eyes in prophane and counterfeit tears, which should be thy souls rebaptization for thy sins, when thou hast blown him away in corrupt and ill intended sighs, which should be *gemitus columbæ,* the voice of the Turtle, to sound thy peace and reconciliation with thy God; yea when thou hast spit him out of thy mouth in execrable and blasphemous oathes; when thou hast not only cast him so far, as that thou knowest not where to find him, but hast made so ordinary and so indifferent a thing of sin, as thou knowest not when thou didst lose him, no nor dost not remember that ever thou hadst him; no, nor dost not know that there is any such man, as *Dominus tuus,* a Jesus, that is, *thy Lord;* The *Tulerunt* is dangerous, when others hide Christ from thee; but the *Abjecerunt* is desperate, when thou thy self doest cast him away.

[Isa. 59.11; Cant. 2.12]

To lose Christ may befall the most righteous man that is; but then he knows where he left him; he knows at what time he lost his way, and where to seek it again; even Christs imagin'd Father and his true mother, *Joseph* and *Mary,* lost him, and lost him in the holy City, at *Jerusalem;* they lost him and knew it not, they lost him and went a dayes journey without him, and thought him to be in the company; but as soon as they deprehended their error, they sought and they found him, when as his mother told him, his father and she had sought with a heavy heart: Alas we may lose him at *Jerusalem,* even in his own house, even at this present, whilst we pretend to doe him service; we may lose him, by suffering our thoughts to look back with pleasure upon the sins which we have committed, or to look forward with greedines upon some sin that is now in our purpose and prosecution; we may lose him at *Jerusalem,* how much more, if our dwelling be a *Rome* of Superstition and Idolatry, or if it be a *Babylon* in confusion, and mingling God and the world together, or if it be a *Sodome,* a wanton and intemperate misuse of Gods benefits

[Luke 2.43–48]

to us, we may think him in the company when he is not, we may mistake his house, we may take a Conventicle for a Church; we may mistake his apparrel, that is, the outward form of his worship; we may mistake the person, that is, associate our selves to such as are no members of his body: But if we doe not return to our diligence to seek him, and seek him, and seek him with a heavy heart, though we begun with a *Tulerunt,* other men, other tentations took him away, yet we end in an *Abjecerunt,* we our selves cast him away, since we have been told where to find him, and have not sought him: And let no man be afraid to seek or find him for fear of the loss of good company; Religion is no sullen thing, it is not a melancholly, there is not so sociable a thing as the love of Christ Jesus.

It was the first word which he who first found Christ of all the Apostles, Saint *Andrew,* is noted to have said, *Invenimus Messiam,* we have found the Messias, and it is the first act that he is noted to have done, after he had found him, to seek his brother *Peter, & duxit ad Jesum,* so communicable a thing is the love of Jesus, when we have found him.

Jo. 1.42

Deut. 30.11

But where are we likeliest to find him? It is said by *Moses,* of the words and precepts of God, *They are not hid from thee, neither are far off;* Not in heaven that thou shouldst say, Who shall goe up to heaven for us to bring them down? nor beyond the Seas, that thou shouldst go over the Sea for them; but the word is very neer thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart; and so neer thee is Christ Jesus, or thou shalt never find him; Thou must not so think him in heaven, as that thou canst not have immediate accesse to him without intercession of others, nor so beyond Sea, as to seek him in a forrein Church, either where the Church is but an Antiquaries Cabinet, full of rags and fragments of antiquity, but nothing fit for that use for which it was first made, or where it is so new a built house with bare walls, that it is yet unfurnished of such Ceremonies as should make it comly and reverend; Christ is at home with thee, he is at home within thee, and there is the neerest way to find him.

It is true, that Christ in the beginning of this chapter, shadow'd under the name of wisdom, when he discovers where he may be found, speaks in the person of humane wisdom as well as divine, Doth not wisdome cry, and understanding utter her voice? where

those two words, *Wisdom* and *Understanding,* signifie *Sapientiam,* and *Prudentiam;* That wisdom whose object is God, and that which concerns our conversation in this world; for Christ hath not taken so narrow a dwelling, as that he may be found but one way, or in one profession; for in all professions, in all stations, in all vocations, when all our actions in our severall courses are directed principally upon his glory, Christ is eminent, and may easily be found. To that purpose in that place, Christ, in the person of wisdom, offers himselfe to be found in the tops of high places, and in the gates of Cities; to shew that this Christ, and this wisdom which must save our Soules, is not confined to Cloysters and Monasteries, and speculative men only, but is also evidently and eminently to be found in the Courts of religious Princes, in the tops of high places, and in the Courts of Justice (in the gates of the City.) Both these kinds of Courts may have more diversions from him then other places; but yet in these places hee is also gloriously and conspicuously to be found; for wheresoever he is, he cries aloud, as the Text saies there, and he utters his voyce. Now Temptations to sin, are all but whisperings, and we are afraid that a husband, that a father, that a competitor, that a rivall, a pretender, at least the Magistrate may heare of it; Tentations to sin are all but whisperings; private Conventicles and clandestine worshipping of God in a forbidden manner, in corners, are all but whisperings; It is not the voice of Christ, except thou hear him cry aloud, and utter his voice, so as thou maist confidently doe whatsoever he commands thee, in the eye of all the world; he is every where to be found, he calls upon thee every where, but yet there belongs a diligence on thy part, thou must seek him. [Prov. 8.1]

Esaias is bold (saith St. *Paul*) and saies, *I was found of them that sought me not,* when that Prophet derives the love of God to the Gentiles, who could seeke God no where but in the booke of Creatures, and were destitute of all other lights to seek him by, and yet God was found by them afterward by the preaching of the Gospell; *Esaias* is bold (cries the Apostle) that is, It was a great degree of confidence in *Esaias,* to say; *That God was found of them that sought him not:* It was a boldness and confidence, which no particular man may have; that Christ will be found, except he be sought; he gives us light to seek him by, but he is not found till we have sought him; *Quaerere* Rom. 10.20 Esay 65.1

[Mat. 6.33] It is true that in that Commandement of his, *Primum quærite Regnum Dei;* First seek the Kingdom of God; the *primum* is not to prevent God, that we should seek it before he shewes it, that's impossible; without the light of Grace we dwell in darknesse, and in the shadow of death; but the *primum* is; That we should seek it before we seek any thing else, that when the Sun of Grace is risen to us, the first
Amos 5.4 thing that we do be to seek Christ Jesus: *Quærite me & vivetis,* Seek me and ye shall live, why? we were alive before, else we could not seek him, but it is a promise of another life, of an eternall life, if we
440 seek him, and seek him early, which is our last consideration.

Early The word there used for early, signifies properly *Auroram,* the Morning, and is usually transfer'd in Scriptures to any beginning of any action; so in particular, *Evill shall come upon thee, and thou*
Esay 47.11 *shalt not know, Shakrah,* the morning, the beginning of it; And therefore this Text is elegantly translated by one, *Aurorantes ad me,* They that have their break of day towards me, they that send forth their first morning beames towards me, their first thoughts, they shall be sure to find me. St. *Hierom* expresses this early diligence, required in us, well in his translation, *qui mane vigilaverint;* They
450 that wake betimes in the morning shall finde me; but the Chaldee Paraphrase better, *qui mane consurgunt,* they that rise betimes in the morning shall finde me; for which of us doth not know that we wak'd long agoe, that we saw day and had heretofore some motions to find Christ Jesus: But though we were awake, wee have kept our bed still, we have continued still in our former sins; so that there is
Cant. 3.1 more to be done then waking: we see the Spouse her self saies, *In my bed, by night, I sought him whom my Soule lov'd, but I found him not;* Christ may be sought in the bed, and missed; other thoughts may exclude him; and he may bee sought there and found, we may
460 have good meditations there; and Christ may be neerer us when we are asleep in our beds, then when we are awake; But howsoever the bed is not his ordinary station; he may be, and he saies he will be, at the making of the bed of the sick, but not at the marring of the bed of the wanton, and licentious.

To make haste, the circumstance only requir'd here, is that he be sought early; and to invite thee to it, consider how early he sought thee; It is a great mercy that he staies so long for thee; It was more

to seek thee so early: Dost thou not feele that he seeks thee now, in offering his love and desiring thine? Canst not thou remember that he sought thee yesterday, that is, that some tentations besieged thee then, and he sought thee out by his Grace, and preserved thee? and hath he not sought thee so, so early, as from the beginning of thy life? nay, dost thou not remember that after thou hadst committed that sin, he sought thee by imprinting some remorse, some apprehension of his judgments, and so *miro & divino modo, & quando te oderat diligebat,* by a miraculous and powerful working of his Spirit, he threatned thee, when he comforted thee, he lov'd thee when he chid thee, he sought thee when he drove thee from him? He hath sought thee amongst the infinite numbers of false and fashionall Christians, that he might bring thee out from the hypocrite, to serve him in earnest, and in holyness, and in righteousness; he sought thee before that amongst the Herd of the nations and Gentiles, who had no Church, to bring thee into his inclosures and pastures, his visible Church, and to feed thee with his word and sacraments; he sought thee before that, in the catalogue of all his Creatures, where he might have left thee a stone, or a plant, or a beast; and then he gave thee an immortal Soul, capable of all his future blessings; yea, before this he sought thee, when thou wast no where, nothing, he brought thee then, the greatest step of all, from being nothing, to be a Creature; how early did he seek thee, when he sought thee in *Adam's* confused loynes, and out of that leavened and sowre loaf in which we were all kneaded up, out of that *massa damnata,* that refuse and condemned lump of dough, he sought and sever'd out that grain which thou shouldst be; yea millions of millions of generations before all this he sought thee in his own eternal Decree; And in that first Scripture of his, which is as old as himself, in the book of life he wrote thy name in the blood of that Lamb which was slain for thee, not only from the beginning of this world, but from the writing of that eternal Decree of thy Salvation. Thus early had he sought thee in the Church amongst hypocrites; out of the Church amongst the Heathen; In his Creatures amongst creatures of an ignoble nature, and in the first vacuity, when thou wast nothing he sought thee so early as in *Adam,* so early as in the book of life, and when wilt thou think it a fit time to seek him?

Grego.

Prov. 1.28 There is an earliness which will not serve thy turn, when afflictions, and anguish, shall come upon thee; *they shall seek me early and shall not find me,* early in respect of the punishment, at the beginning of that; but this is late in respect of thy fault, or of thine age, when thou art grown old, in the custome of sin; for thus we may misuse this early, and make it serve all ill uses, if we will say we will leave Covetousness early, that is, as soon as we are rich enough; Incontinence early, that is, as soon as we are old or sick; Ambition early, that is, as soon as we have overthrown and crushed our enemies irrecoverably; for thus, we shall by this habit carry on this early to our late and last houre, and say we will repent early, that is, as soone as the bell begins to toll for us.

It is good for a man that he beare his yoke in his youth, that he seek Christ early, for even God himself, when he had given over his People to be afflicted by the Chaldeans, yet complains of the Chaldeans, that Esay. 47.6 they laid heavy loads upon old men; though this yoke of this amorous seeking of Christ be a light yoke, yet it is too heavy for an old man, that hath never us'd himself in all his life to beare it; even this spirituall love will not sute well with an old man, if he never began before, if he never lov'd Christ in his youth, even this love will be an unweildy thing in his age.

Yet if we have omitted our first early, our youth, there is one early left for us; this minute; seek Christ early, now, now, as soon as his Spirit begins to shine upon your hearts. Now as soon as you begin your day of Regeneration, seek him the first minute of this day, for you know not whether this day shall have two minutes or no, that is, whether his Spirit, that descends upon you now, will tarry and rest upon you or not, as it did upon Christ at his baptisme.

Psal. 32.6 Therefore shall every one that is godlie make his Prayer unto thee O God, in a time when thou may'st be found: we acknowledg this to be that time, and we come to thee now early, with the confession of thy servant *Augustine, sero te amavi pulchritudo tam antiqua, tam nova;* O glorious beauty, infinitely reverend, infinitely fresh and young, we come late to thy love, if we consider the past daies of our lives, but early if thou beest pleased to reckon with us from this houre of the shining of thy grace upon us; and therefore O God, as thou hast brought us safely to the beginning of this day, as thou hast not given

us over to a finall perishing in the works of night and darkness, as thou hast brought us to the beginning of this day of grace, so defend us in the same with thy mighty power, and grant that this day, this day of thy visitation, we fall into no sin, neither run into any kind of danger, no such sinne, no such danger as may separate us from thee, or frustrate us of our hopes in that eternall kingdom which thy Sonne our Saviour Christ Jesus hath purchased for us, with the inestimable price of his incorruptible blood. *To whom with the Father,* &c.

Number 6.

A Lent-Sermon Preached at White-Hall, February 20. 1617. [1617/18]

Lvc. 23.40. *FEAREST NOT THOU GOD, BEING UNDER THE SAME CONDEMNATION?*

THE TEXT it self is a Christning-Sermon, and a Funeral-Sermon, and a Sermon at a Consecration, and a Sermon at the Canonization of himself that makes it. This Thief, whose words they are, is Baptized in his blood; there's his Christning: He dyes in that profession; there's his Funeral: His Diocess is his Cross, and he takes care of his soul, who is crucified with him, and to him he is a Bishop; there's his Consecration: and he is translated to heaven; there's his Canonization. We have sometimes mention in *Moses* his book of *Exodus,* according to the *Romane* Translation, *Operis Plumarii,* of a kind of subtle and various workmanship, imployed upon the Tabernacle, for which it is hard to finde a proper word now; we translate it sometimes Embroidery, sometimes Needle-work, sometimes otherwise. It is evident enough, that it was *Opus variegatum,* a work compact of divers pieces, curiously inlaid, and varied for the making up of some figure, some representation: and likelyest to be that which in sumptuous buildings, we use to call now *Mosaick* work: for that very word originally signifies, to vary, to mingle, to diversifie. As the Tabernacle of God was, so the Scriptures of God are of this *Mosaick* work: The body of the Scriptures hath in it limbs taken from other bodies; and in the word of God, are the words of other men, other authors, inlaid and inserted. But, this work is onely where the Holy Ghost is the Workman: It is not for man to insert, to inlay other words into the word of God. It is a gross piece of *Mosaick* work, to insert whole Apocryphal books into the Scriptures. It is a sacrilegious defacing of this *Mosaick* work, to take out of *Moses* Tables, such a

[Exod. 26.36]

stone as the second Commandment; and to take out of the Lords Prayer, such a stone as is the foundation-stone, the reason of the prayer, *Quia Tuum, For thine is the kingdom,* &c. It is a counterfeit piece of *Mosaick* work, when having made up a body of their Canon-
30 Law, of the raggs and fragments torne from the body of the Fathers, they attribute to every particular sentence in that book, not that authority which that sentence had in that Father from whom it is taken, but that authority which the Canonization (as they call it) of that sentence gives it; by which Canonization, and placing it in that book, it is made equal to the word of God. It is a strange piece of *Mosaick* work, when one of their greatest authors pretending to present a body of proofs, for all controverted points, from the Scriptures, and Councels, and Fathers (for, he makes no mention in his promise of the Mothers of the Church) doth yet fill up that body with sen-
40 tences from women, and obtrude to us the Revelations of *Brigid,* and of *Katherine,* and such She-fathers as those. But when the Holy Ghost is the workman, in the true Scriptures, we have a glorious sight of this *Mosaick,* this various, this mingled work; where the words of the Serpent in seducing our first parents, The words of *Balaams* Ass in instructing the rider himself, The words of prophane Poets, in the writings and use of the Apostle, The words of *Caiaphas* prophesying that it was expedient that one should dye for all, The words of the Divel himself (*Jesus I know, and Paul I know*) And here in this text, the words of a Thief executed for the breach of the Law; do all con-
50 cur to the making up of the Scriptures, of the word of God.

Thesaurus Catholicus

[Gen.3.1–5]
[Num.22.28 and 30]
[Joh. 18.14]
[Acts 19.15]

Now, though these words were not spoken at this time, when we do but begin to celebrate by a poor and weak imitation, the fasting of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but were spoken at the day of the crucifying of the Lord of life and glory; yet as I would be loath to think, that you never fast but in Lent, so I would be loath to think that you never fulfill the sufferings of Christ Jesus in your flesh, but upon Goodfriday, never meditate upon the passion, but upon that day. As the Church celebrates an Advent, a preparation to the Incarnation of Christ, to his coming in the flesh, in humiliation: so may this hu-
60 miliation of ours in the text, be an Advent, a preparation to his Resurrection, and coming in glory: And, as the whole life of Christ was a passion, so should the whole life (especially the humiliation)

of a Christian, be a continual meditation upon that. Christ began with some drops of blood in his infancy, in his Circumcision; though he drowned the sins of all mankinde, in those several channels of Blood, which the whips, and nailes, and spear, cut out of his body in the day of his passion. So though the effects of his passion be to be presented more fully to you, at the day of his passion, yet it is not unseasonable now, to contemplate thus far the working of it upon this condemned
70 wretch, whose words this text is, as to consider in them, First, the
Division infallibility, and the dispatch of the grace of God upon them, whom his gracious purpose hath ordained to salvation: how powerfully he works; how instantly they obey. This condemned person who had been a thief, execrable amongst men, and a blasphemer, execrating God, was suddainly a Convertite, suddainly a Confessor, suddainly a Martyr, suddainly a Doctor to preach to others. In a second consideration, we shall see what doctrine he preaches; not curiosities, not unrevealed Mysteries, not Matter of State, nor of wit, nor of carnal delight, but onely the fear of God: *Nonne times Deum?* And for a
80 third part, we shall see his Auditory, the Church that he preached to: he contented himself with a small Parish; he had most care of their souls, that needed him most: he applies himself to the conversion of his fellow-Thief. He works upon those sins which he knew to have been in himself. And he works upon him by all these steps: First, *Nonne Tu?* howsoever the rest do revile Christ, because they stay behinde, and look for a temporal *Messias,* to make this life sweet, and glorious unto them; yet what's that to thee? thou art to have no part in it; howsoever they be, art not thou affected? *Nonne Tu times?* If the bitterness of thy torment cannot let thee love, though thy
90 stomach will not come down to kiss the rod and embrace correction, yet *Nonne Tu times?* Doth it not imprint a fear in thee? *Nonne times Deum?* Though the Law have done the worst upon thee, Witnesses, Advocates, Judges, Executioners can put thee in no more fear; yet, *Nonne times Deum?* Fearest not thou God? who hath another Tribunal, another execution for thee; especially when thou knowest thy condemnation, and such a condemnation; *Eandem,* the same condemnation; And that this condemnation is not imminent, but now upon thee: when thou art now under the same condemnation, fearest thou not God?

The first thing then is, the powerfulness and the dispatch of the grace of God in the conversion of them, who are ordained unto it. In *Judas,* the Devil entred into him when Christ gave him the Sop; but the Devil had put the treason in his heart before. The tentation had an Inchoation, and it had a Meditation, and it had a Consummation. In Saint *Paul,* in his conversion, God wrought upon him all at once, without any discontinuance; He took him at as much disadvantage for grace to work upon, as could be; breathing threatnings and slaughters against the disciples, and provided with Commissions for that persecution. But suddainly there came a light, and suddainly a stroke that humbled him, and suddainly a voice, and suddainly a hand that led him to *Damascus.* After God had laid hold upon him, he never gave him over, till he had accomplished his purpose in him.

Part I
Gratia
[Joh. 13.27]

[Acts 9.1–8]

Whether this grace, which God presents so, be resistible or no, whether man be not perverse enough to resist this grace, why should any perverse or ungracious man dispute? Hath any man felt a tentation so strong upon himself, but that he could have given another man reason enough to have kept him from yeilding to that tentation? Hath any man felt the grace of God work so upon him at any time, as that he hath concurred fully, intirely with that grace, without any resistance, any slackness? New fashions in men, make us doubt new manners; and new terms in Divinity were ever suspicious in the Church of God, that new Doctrines were hid under them. *Resistibility,* and *Irresistibility* of grace, which is every Artificers wearing now, was a stuff that our Fathers wore not, a language that pure antiquity spake not. They knew Gods ordinary proceeding. They knew his Common Law, and they knew his Chancery. They knew his chief Justice *Moses,* that denounced his Judgements upon transgressors of the Law; and they knew his Chancellor Christ Jesus, into whose hands he had put all Judgements, to mitigate the rigor and condemnation of the Law. They knew Gods law, and his Chancery: But for Gods prerogative, what he could do of his absolute power, they knew Gods pleasure, *Nolumus disputari:* It should scarce be disputed of in Schools, much less serv'd in every popular pulpit to curious and itching ears; least of all made table-talke, and housholddiscourse. Christ promises to come to the door, and to knock at the door, and to stand at the door, and to enter if any man open; but he

Revel. 3.[20]

does not say, he will break open the door: it was not his pleasure to express such an earnestness, such an Irresistibility in his grace, so. Let us cheerfully rely upon that; His purpose shall not be frustrated; his ends shall not be prevented; his ways shall not be precluded: But the depth of the goodness of God, how much good God can do for man; yea the depth of the illness of man, how much ill man can do against God, are such seas, as, if it be not impossible, at least it is impertinent, to go about to sound them.

Fac. Now, what God hath done, and will do for the most haynous offenders, we consider in this man: First, as he was execrable to men, a Thief; and then, as he execrated God, a Blasphemer. Now this Thief is ordinarily taken, and so, in all probability, likely to have been a bloody thiefe, a Murderer: for, for theft onely, their laws did not provide so severe an execution as hanging upon the Cross. We finde that *Judas,* who was a thief, made it a law upon himself, by executing himself, to hang a thief; but it was not the ordinary justice of that countrey. First, then, he had been an enemy to the well-being of mankinde, by injuring the possession, and the propriety, which men have justly in their goods, as he was a thief; and he had been an enemy to the very being of mankinde, if he were a Murderer.

[Mat. 27.3–5]

Psal. 50.[18] And certainly, the sin of theft alone would be an execrable, a detestable sin to us all, but that it is true of us all, *Si videbas furem, currebas cum eo:* we see that all men are theeves in their kindes, in their courses; but yet we know, that we our selves are so too. We may have heard of Princes that have put down Stewes, and executed severe Lawes against Licentiousness; but that may have been to bring all the Licentiousness of the City into the Court. We may have heard Sermons against Usury; and this may have been, that they themselves might put out their money the better. We may cry out against Theft, that we may steale the safelier. For we steale our preferment, if we bring no labour, nor learning to the Service; and we steale our Learning, if we forsake the Fountaines, and the Fathers, and the Schooles, and deale upon Rhapsoders, and Common placers, and Method-

[Joh. 8.7] mongers. Let him that is without sin, cast the first stone; let him that hath stolne nothing, apprehend the thief: rather, let him that hath done nothing but steale, apprehend the thief, and present himself there, where this thief found mercy, at the Crosse of Christ. Every

man hath a sop in his mouth; his own robberies will not let him complain of the theft of excessive Fees in all professions; of the theft of preventing other mens merit with their money; (which is a robbing of others, and themselves too;) of the theft of stealing Affections, by unchaste sollicitations; or of the great theft of stealing of Hearts from Princes, and Souls from God, by insinuations of Treason, and Superstition, in a corrupt Religion in every corner. No man dares complain of others thefts, because every man is *felo de se;* not onely that himself hath stolne, but that he hath stolne away himself. Yea, he is *Homicida sui,* a Murderer of himself. *Omnis peccator homicida,* Every sinner is a Murderer. *Quæris quem Occiderit?* doth he plead Not guilty, or doth he put me to prove whom he hath murdered? *Si quid ad Elogii ambitionem faciat, non inimicum, non extraneum, sed seipsum.* If he think it an honor to him, let him know, it is not an enemy, it is not a stranger, that he hath murdered, but himself, and his own soul. And such a Thief, such a Murderer was this; but not onely such, but a publick Malefactor too; and so execrable to men: which is his first Indisposition.

[Joh. 13.26 and 27]

Tertul.

He had also execrated God; he had reviled Christ. This Evangelist Saint *Luke* does not say so, that both the Theeves reviled Christ: but that acquits not this thiefe, that Saint *Luke* does not say't, no more then it acquits them both, that S. *John* does not say, that either of them reviled Christ. And then both the other Evangelists, Saint *Matthew* and Saint *Mark,* charge them both with it. *The same* (that is, those reviling words which others had used) *the theeves that were crucified cast in his teeth.* And, *they also that were crucified with him, reviled him. Athanasius* in his Sermon *Contra omnes hæreses,* makes no doubt of it: *Duo Latrones; altero execrante, altero dicente, quid execramur?* One Thief said to the other, Why doe we revile Christ? so that *de facto,* he imputes it to them both; both did it. *Origen* sayes, *Conveniens est, imprimis ambos blasphemasse;* not onely that that is the most convenient Exposition, but that it was the most convenient way to God, for expressing Mercy, and Justice too, that both should have reviled him. *Origen* admits a conveniency in it. *Chrysostome* implyes a necessity, *Ne quis compositorem factam putaret:* lest the world should think it a plot, and that this Thief had been well disposed and affected towards Christ before, therefore, sayes he, first he

Blasphemy

Mat. 27.44

Mar. 15.32

Athanasius

Origen

Chrysostome

declares himself to be his enemy, in reviling him, and then was sud-
Hilarius dainly reconciled unto him. *Hilary* raises and builds a great point of Divinity upon it; that since both the Theeves, of which one was elect to salvation, did upbraid Christ with the ignominy of the Crosse, *Universis etiam fidelibus scandalum Crucis futurum ostendit:* This shews, sayes he, that even the faithfull and elect servants of God, may be shak'd and scandalized, and fall away for a time, in the time of
Theophylact persecution. He raises positive and literall Doctrine. And *Theophylact* raises mystical and figurative Doctrine out of it; *Duo latrones*
220 *figura Gentilium & Judæorum:* both Jewes and Gentiles did reproach Christ, *Sicut & primo ambo latrones improperabant,* as at first
Hierom. both the Theeves that were crucified did. S. *Hierome* inclines to admit a figure in S. *Matthews* words: and he saith, that S. *Matthew* imputes that to both, which was spoken by one: But S. *Hierom* had no use of a figure here; for himselfe sayes, that *Matthew,* which imputes this to both; and *Luke,* which imputes it to one, differ not: for, saith he, both reviled Christ at first; and then, one, *Visis miraculis credidit,* upon the evidence of Christs Miracles, changed his mind,
Augustine and believed in him. Onely S. *Augustine* is confident in it, that this
230 Thief never reviled Christ; but thinks, that that phrase of *Matthew,* and of *Mark,* who impute it to both, is no more, but as if one should say, *Rusticani insultant;* mean men, base men, do triumph over me: which, says he, might be said, if any one such person did so. Now, this might be true, if it had been said, Theeves and Malefactors reviled Christ: But, when it is expresly said, The Theeves that were crucified, I take it to be a way of deriving the greater comfort upon us, and the greater glory upon Christ, and the greater assurance upon the Prisoner, to leave him to the mercy of God, rather then to the wit of Man; and rather to suffer Christ Jesus to pardon him, being guilty,
240 then to dispute for his innocence. For, perchance, we shall lack an example of a notorious Blasphemer, and reviler of Christ, to be effectually converted to salvation (of which example, considering how our times abound and overflow with this sin, we stand much in need) except this thief be our example; that though he were execrable to men, and execrated God, yet Christ Jesus took him into those bowels which he had ripp'd up, and into those wounds which he had opened

wider by his execrations, and had mercy upon him, and buried him in them. And this was his second Indisposition.

Now, for the speed and powerfull working of this Grace, to his Conversion; we must not insist long upon it, lest we be longer in expressing it, then it was in doing. We have no impression, no direction of the time, when his conversion was wrought. None of the Evangelists mention when nor how it was done: None, but this Evangelist, that it was done at all. But he mentions it in the clearest and safest demonstration of all; that is, in the effects of his conversion, his desire to convert others. And therefore we may discerne *Impetum Gratiæ, in impetu pœnitentis:* the force, the vehemence of Gods grace, in the vehemence of his zeale. Christ himself was silent, when this thief reviled him: and yet this thief comes presently to a zealous impatience, he cannot hear his companion revile. Christ had estated his Apostles in heaven; he had given them Reversions of Judiciary places in heaven, twelve Seats, to judge the twelve Tribes: and yet *Facit fides innocentes Latrones, facit perfidia Apostolos criminosos:* he infuses so much faith into this thief, as justifies him; and leaves his Apostles so far to their infirmity, as endangers them. To the chief of these Apostles (in some services) to *Peter* himself, he sayes, *Whither I go, thou canst not follow me now;* and to this thief he sayes, *Hodie mecum eris, This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.* So soon did he bring this thief, *Cui damnari ad tempus expedivit,* that had a good bargain of death, that scap'd by being condemned, and was the better, and longer liv'd for being hang'd; (for he was thereby, *Collega Martyrii,* and *particeps Regni,* partaker of Christs Martyrdome, and partner of his Kingdome;) he brought him so soon to that height of faith, that even in that low state upon the Cross, he prayed for a spiritual Kingdom: whereas the Apostles themselves, in that exaltation, when Christ was ascending, talk'd to him of a temporall Kingdome. He came to know those Wounds which were in Christ's Body, *Non esse Christi, sed Latronis, & amare cœpit;* then he began to love him perfectly, when he found his own wounds in the body of his Saviour. So he came to declare perfect faith, in professing Christs innocence, *This man hath done nothing;* and perfect Hope, in the *Memento Mei, Remember me in thy Kingdome;* and perfect Charity, in this increpation and rebuking of his

Impetus

Ambr.

Jo. 13.36

Ambros.

Cyprian

Ambr.

Gregory

August. companion. He was, as S. *Augustine* sayes, *Latro Laudabilis & miraculis;* such a thief as deserved praise, and afforded wonder: but the best is the last, that he was *imitabilis;* that he hath done nothing, but that we may do so too, if we will apprehend that grace that he did.

Idem *Assumamus vocem Latronis, si non volumus esse Latrones:* If we will not steal our selves out of the number, to whom God offers his

Idem saving grace. *Ut sedeamus a dextris, pendeamus a dextris;* let us be content to suffer, but to suffer in the right. Suffering as Malefactors, is somewhat too much on the left hand; though even that suffering do bring many to the right hand too. But suffering for Schisme in pretence of Zeal, suffering for Treason in pretence of Religion; this is both to turn out of this world on the left hand, and to remain on that hand for ever after in the world to come. This thief hung on the right hand, and was suddenly made a Confessor for himself, a Martyr to witnesse for Christ, a Doctor to preach to his fellow. If the favour of a Prince can make a man a Doctor, *per saltum,* much more the mercy of Christ Jesus, which gives the Sufficiency as well as the Title: as he did in this Thief, this new Doctor, whose Doctrine it self is our next consideration.

Part II. *Doctrina* This doctrine was the fear of God, which was a pregnant and a plentiful common place for him to preach upon. And upon such an occasion, and such abundance of matter, we have here one example of an extemporal Sermon; This Thief had premeditated nothing. But he is no more a precedent for extemporal preaching, then he is for stealing. He was a Thief before, and he was an extemporal preacher at last: But he teaches no body else to be either. It is true, that if we consider the Sermons of the Ancient Fathers, we shall finde some impressions, some examples of suddain and unpremeditated Sermons. Saint *Augustine* some times eases himself upon so long Texts, as needed no great preparation, no great study; for a meer paraphrase upon this Text, was enough for all his hour, when he took both Epistle and Gospel, and Psalm of the day for his Text. We may see often in S. *Bernard* (*Heri diximus,* and *Hesterno die fecimus mentionem*) that he preached divers days together. In the second of those Sermons of Saint *Basil,* which were upon the beginning of *Genesis,* it seems that *Basil* preached twice in a day; and in his Sermon *de Baptismo,* it seemes that he trusted upon the Holy Ghost, and

Ser. 10 *de verbis Hpli.*

Ser. de Sancto Latrone, &c.

his present inspiration: *Loquemar prout Sermo nobis dabitur in apertione oris:* I intend to speak so, as the Holy Ghost shall give me utterance for the present. But as S. *Augustine* says in another case, *Da mihi Paulum;* so *Da mihi Basilios,* and *Augustinos;* bring such preachers as *Basil* and *Augustine* were, and let them preach as often as they will; and let every man whose calling it is, preach as often as he can; but let him not think that he can preach as often as he can speak. An inordinate opinion of purity, brought some men to keep two Sabbaths a week, and others two Lents every year; and an opinion of a necessity of two Sermons every Sabbath, and two hours every Sermon, may bring them to an opinion, that the sanctifying of the Sabbath consists in the patience of hearing.

Here was an extemporal Sermon, but a short one: he preaches nothing but the fear of God. It is not *De arcanis Imperii*, matter of State: nor *De arcanis Dei,* of the unrevealed decrees of God. The Thief does not say to Christ, *Perage quod decreveris;* Thou hast decreed my conversion, and therefore that decree must be executed, that must necessarily be performed, which thou hadst determined in thy Kingdom before thou camest from thence; but he says, *Memento mei, cum veneris;* Take such a care of me, for my salvation, and preservation, and perseverance, as that I may follow thee into that Kingdom, into which thou art now going; for our salvation is opened to us in that way, which Christ hath opened by his death: and without him, we understand no assurance of election; without his second going into his Kingdome, we know nothing of that which he did, before he came from thence. This is then the fear of God, which those royall Doctors of the Old Testament, *David* and *Solomon,* both preached, and which this Primitive Doctor of the Primitive Church, this new Convertite preached too, That no man may be so secure in his election, as to forbear to work out his salvation with fear and trembling: for God saves no man against his will, nor any man that thinks himself beholding for nothing, after the first decree. There is a name of force, of violence, of necessity attributed to a God, which is *Mauzzim:* but it is the name of an Idol, not of a true God. The name of the true God is *Dominus tzebaoth,* the *Lord of Hosts;* a name of power, but not of force. There is a fear belongs to him; his purposes shall certainly be executed, but regularly and orderly; he will be feared, not

Psal. 34.11
Prov. 1.7
Dan. 11.38

because he forces us, imprints a necessity, a coaction upon us; but because, if we be not led by his orderly proceeding, there he hath power to cast body and soul into hell fire; therefore he will be feared, not as a wilfull Tyrant, but as a just Judge; not as *Mauzzim,* the god of Violence, but as *Dominus tzebaoth,* the Lord of Hosts.

Part 3 This then is his Doctrine; and what's his Auditory? He is not reserved for Courts, nor for populous Cities; it is but a poor Parish that he hath; and yet he thinks of no change, but means to dye there: and there he visits the poorest, the sickest, the wretchedest person, the Thief. He had seen divers other of divers sorts, revile Christ as deeply as this Thief: *They that passed by reviled him: Prætereuntes,* they that did not so much as consider him, reviled him. They that know not Christ, yet will blaspheme him: if we ask them when, and where, and how, and why Christ Jesus was born, and lived, and dyed, they cannot tell it in their Creed; and yet they can tell it in their Oathes: they know nothing of his Miraculous Life, of his Humble Death, of his Bitter Passion, of the Ransome of his Blood, of the Sanctuary of his Wounds; and yet his Life, and Death, and Passion, and Blood, and Wounds, is oftner in their mouthes in execrations, then in the mouth of the most religious man in his prayers. They revile Christ *Prætereuntes,* as they pass along: not onely as *Origen* sayes here, *Non incedentes recte, blasphemant,* they did not go perversly, crookedly, wilfully, and so blaspheme: nor as *Hierome, Non ambulantes in vero itinere Scripturarum, blasphemant;* they did not misinterpret places of Scripture, to maintaine their errours, and so blaspheme; but they blasphemed *Prætereuntes,* out of negligent custome and habit; they blaspheme Christ, and never think of it; that they may be damned *obiter,* by the way, collaterally, occasionately damned.

Mat. 27.39 *Origen* *Hierom.*

Luke 23.35 But it was not only they, *Prætereuntes,* but the people that stood, and beheld, reviled Christ too: men that doe understand Christ, even then when they dishonour him, doe dishonour him to accompany some greater persons upon whom they depend, in their errours. The Priests, who should have called the Passengers, with that, *Have ye no regard, all ye that passe by the way?* the Scribes, who should have applyed the ancient Prophesies to the present accomplishment of them in the death of Christ: the Pharisees, who should have supplied their imperfect fulfilling of the Law, in that full satisfaction, the death of

Thr. 1.12

Christ: the Elders, the Rulers, the Souldiers, are all noted to have reviled Christ: they all concurre to the performance of that Prophesie in the person of Christ; and yet they will not see that the Prophesie is performed in him: *All they that see me have me in derision: they persecute him whom thou hast smitten, and they adde unto the sorrowes of him whom thou hast wounded: Our Fathers trusted in thee, they trusted in thee, and were delivered; but I am a worm and no man, a shame to men, and the contempt of the people. Pilate* had lost his plot upon the people, to mollifie them towards Christ; he brought him out to them, *Flagellatum & illusum,* scourged and scorned, thinking that that would have reduced them. But this Preacher leaves all the rest, either to their farther obduration, or their fitter time of repentance, if God had ordained any such time for them: and he turns to this one, whose disposition he knew to have been like his own, and therefore hoped his conversion would be so too; for nothing gives the faithfull servants of God a greater encouragement that their labors shall prosper upon others, then a consideration of their own case, and an acknowledgement what God hath done for their souls. When the fear of God had wrought upon himself, then he comes to his fellow, *Nonne tu times?* fearest not thou? First, *Nonne tu?* We have not that advantage over our auditory, which he had over his, to know that in every particular man, there is some reason why he should be more afraid of Gods judgements then another man. But every particular man, who is acquainted with his own history, may be such a Preacher to himself, and ask himself *Nonne tu,* hast not thou more reason to stand in fear of God then any other man, for any thing that thou knowest? Knowest thou any man so deeply indebted to God, so far behind-hand with God, so much in danger of his executions as thou art? Thou knowest not his colluctations before he fell, nor his Repentances since: when thou hearest S. *Paul* say, *Quorum maximus,* hadst not thou need say, *Nonne tu?* Dost not thou fear, who knowest more by thy self, then S. *Pauls* History hath told thee of S. *Paul?* for in all his History thou never seest any thing done by him against his conscience: and is thy case as good as that? But to this thief, this thief presses this no farther, but this, what hope soever of future happiness in this life, by the coming of a *Messias,* those that stay in the world can expect, what's all that to thee, who art going out of the world? *Quid*

Psal. 22.7
Psal. 69.26
Psal. 22.4
[also 5 and 6]
John 19.1
Times
[1 Tim. 1.15]

mihi, sayes that man, who looked upon the Rainbow when he was ready to drown; though God have promised not to drown the world, what's that to me, if I must drown? I must be bold to say to thee, *Quid tibi?* if God by his omnipotent power will uphold his Gospel in the world, he owes thee no thanks, if thou do nothing in thy calling towards the upholding of it. *Nonne tu?* Dost not thou feare, that though that stand, Gods judgement will fall upon thee for having put no hand to the staying of it?

Nonne tu times? It had been unreasonable to have spoken to him of the love of God first now, when those heavy judgements were upon him. The Fear of God is alwayes the beginning of Wisdome; most of all in calamity, which is properly *Vehiculum timoris,* the Chariot to convey, and the Seal to imprint this feare in us. *Because I thought, surely the feare of God is not in this place; therefore I said Sarah was my sister.* Where there is not the fear of God in great persons, other men dare not proceed clearly with them, but with disguises and Modifications: they dare not attribute their prosperity, and good success to the goodness of God, but must attribute it to their wisdome: they dare not attribute their crosses and ill successe to the justice of God, but must attribute it to the weakness or falshood of servants and ministers: where there is not this fear of God, there is no directness. Beloved, there is love enough at all hands; it is a loving age every where, love enough in every corner, such as it is; but scarce any feare amongst us. Great men are above fear, no envy can reach them: Miserable men are below fear, no change can make them worse: and for persons of middle rank, and more publick feares, of plagues, of famines, or such, the abundant and over-flowing goodness of God hath so long accustomed us to miraculous deliverances, that we feare nothing, but thinke to have miracles in ordinary, and neglect ordinary remedies.

Gen. 20.11

Deum

But what should this man fear now? his Glass was run out, his Bell was rung out, he was a dead man, condemned, and judged, and executed; what should he fear? In *Rome,* as the Vestal Virgins which dyed, were buried within the city, because they dyed innocent: so persons which were executed by Justice, were buryed there too, because they had satisfied the Law, and thereby seemed to be restored to their innocence. So that condemned persons might seem least of all to

feare. But yet, *Nonne times Deum?* fearest not thou God, for all that? Have not the laws of Men, Witnesses, Judges, and Executioners, all men, brought fearfull things upon thee already? and is it not a fearfull thing, if all those real torments, be but Types and Figures of those greater, which God will inflict upon thee after death? How easily hath a cunning malefactor sometimes deluded and circumvented a mild Justice at home, that lives neighbourly by him, and is almost glad to be deceived in favour of life! but how would this man be confounded, if he came to be examined at the Council-table, or by the King? *Omni severius quæstione a te interrogari,* was said by one of the Panegyricks to one of the Roman Emperours, That it was worse then the rack, to be examined by him. When we come to stand naked before God, without that apparel which he made for us, without all righteousness, and without that apparell which we made for our selves; not a fig-leaf, not an excuse to cover us; if we think to deale upon his affections, he hath none; if we think to hide our sins, he was with us when we did them, and saw them: we shall see then by his examination, that he knowes them better then we our selves.

Tom. 10 *in Append. Ser.* 49

And to this purpose, to shew Gods particular judgement upon all men, and all actions then, it is, that S. *Augustine* (if that Sermon which is the 130. *de Tempore,* be his, for it is in the copies of *Chrysostome* too) reads those words thus: *Nonne times Deum tuum?* fearest not thou thy God? that if a man would go about to wrap up all in Gods generall providence (all must be as God hath appointed it) he might be brought to this particular consideration, that he is *Deus tuus;* not onely God of the world, and God of mankinde, but thy God: so far thine, as he shall be thy Judge: In all senses, and to all intendments, that may make him the heavier to thee, he is thy God: he shall be thy God in his severe examinations, as he is *Scrutator Renum,* as he searches thy reines: thy God, in putting off all respect of persons, in renouncing kindred, *Mater & frater;* they are of kin to him, that do his will: and in renouncing acquaintance at the last day, *Nescio vos,* I know not whence you are: and thy God in pronouncing judgement then, *Ite maledicti,* go ye accursed. He shall be still *Deus tuus,* thy God, till it come to *Jesus tuus,* till it come to the point of redemption and salvation; he shall be thy God, but not thy Redeemer, thy Saviour. And therefore it is well urged in this place by Saint *Augustine, Nonne times Deum tuum? Fearest not thou thy God?*

[Apoc.2.23]

[Mat.10.37]

[Luke 13.25]

[Mat.25.41]

Condemnatio Act. 26.29

Especially this great calamity being actually upon thee now. Saint *Paul* when he would have converted *Agrippa* and all the company, he wishes they were all like him, in all things, *Exceptis vinculis,* excepting his bands. This new convert deals upon his fellow with that argument, *Quia in iisdem vinculis;* since thou art under the same condemnation, thou shouldest have the same affections. Now the general condemnation, which is upon all mankind, that they must dye, this alone scarce frights any man, scarce averts any man from his purposes. He that should first put to Sea in a tempest, he might easily think, it were in the nature of the Sea to be rough always. He that sees every Church-yard swell with the waves and billows of graves, can think it no extraordinary thing to dye, when he knows he set out in a storm, and he was born into the world upon that condition, to go out of it again. But when *Nathan* would work upon *David,* he puts him a particular case, appliable to himself; and when he had drawn from him an implicite condemnation of himself, then he applies it. When *David* had said, *As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this shall surely dye;* and *Nathan* upon that had said, *Thou art the man:* Then *David* came to his *Peccavi coram Domino, I have sinned against the Lord;* and *Nathan* to his *Transtulit Dominus, The Lord hath taken away thy sin.* And so this preacher, *Qui clavis confixus non habuit sensum confixum,* who though he were crucified in body, had his spirit and his charity at liberty, he presses his fellow to this fear, therefore, because he is under a particular condemnation; not because he must dye, but because he must dye thus: and every man may find some such particular condemnation in himself, and in his own crosses, if he will but read his own history in a true copy.

2 Sam. 12.[5–13]

August.

Eadem

It is *sub eadem,* the same condemnation. If this identity be intended, in comparison with Christs condemnation, the comparison holds only in this: judgment is given upon you both, execution begun upon you both, both equally ignominious, equally miserable in the eye of the world: why doest thou insult upon him, revile him, who art in as ill state as he? thou seest him, (who, though thou knowest it not, hath other manner of assurances, then thou canst have) in Agonies, in Feares, in Complaints, in Lamentations: Why fearest not thou, being under the same condemnation? If this *eadem condemnatio* be intended in comparison of himself that speaks, then the comparison

holds only thus, Thou hast no better a life then I, thou art no farther from thy death then I; and the consideration of my condemnation, hath brought me to fear God: why shouldst not thou feare, being under the same condemnation? especially there being no adjourning of the Court, no putting off the Sizes, no Reprieve for Execution: Thou art now under the same condemnation, the same Execution: why shouldst thou not fear now? why shouldst thou not go so far towards thy conversion this minute? To end all, it is all our cases; we are all under the same condemnation: what condemnation? under the same as *Adam,* the same as *Cain,* the same as *Sodom,* the same as *Judas: Quod cuiquam accidit, omni potest;* what sin soever God hath found in any, he may finde in us; either that we have falne into it, by our misuse of his grace, or should fall into it, if he should withdraw his grace. In those that are damned before, we are damned in Effigie; such as we are, are damned; and we might be, but that he which was *Medius inter personas divinas,* in his glory, in heaven; and *Medius inter prophetas,* in his Transfiguration in Mount *Thabor;* and *Medius inter Latrones,* in his Humiliation in this text, is *Medius inter nos,* in the midst of the Christian Church, in the midst of us, in this Congregation, and takes into his own mouth now, the words which he put into the thiefs mouth then, and more: Since I have been made a man, and no man; been born, and died; since I have descended, and descended to the earth, and below the earth; since I have done and suffered so much to rescue you from this condemnation, *Nonne timetis?* will ye not fear the Lord, but choose still to be under the same condemnation?

Number 7.

A Sermon Preached at White-Hall, Aprill 12. 1618.

GEN. 32.10. *I AM NOT WORTHY OF THE LEAST OF ALL THY MERCIES, AND OF ALL THE TRUTH WHICH THOU HAST SHEWED UNTO THY SERVANT; FOR WITH MY STAFF I PASSED OVER THIS* JORDAN *AND NOW I AM BECOME TWO BANDS.*

THIS TEXT is in the midst of *Jacobs* prayer; and this prayer is in the midst of *Jacobs* preparation in the time of danger. His dangers were from persons near him, from his Alliance, by marriage, and from his nearest kindred by blood. *Laban,* into whose house he had married, made advantages upon him, deluded him, oppressed him, pursued him. And *Esau* his own brother lay now in his way, when he was returning from *Mesopotamia* to *Canaan,* from his father-in-law, to his natural father, from *Laban,* to *Isaac.* He had sent messengers to try his brothers disposition towards him; they returned with relation of great preparation that *Esau* made to come forth towards him, but whether in hostile or friendly manner, they could inform nothing. *Then was Jacob greatly afraid, and sore troubled,* but not so afraid, nor so troubled, as that he was stupified, or negligent in providing against the imminent dangers. First then he makes as sure as he can at home; He disposes his troops, and his cattel so, as that, if his brother should come hostilly, he might do least harm. And he provides as well as he could that he should not come hostilly, he sends him presents, and he sends him respective and ceremonious messages. He neglects not the strengthening of him self, that so he might make his peace when he were able to sustein a war; he neglects not the re-

[Gen. 32.] ver. 7

moving of all occasions, that might submit him to a war: And in the midst of these two important and necessary cares, love of peace, and provision for war, his chief recourse is to God; to him he prays; and he prays to him first, as he was (as we may say) *Deus familiaris, a God to his family,* and race, *O God of my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac;* and as a God, from whom this familiarity did not take away the reverence; for he addes there presently the great name of *Jehova,* the Lord, he presents to him his obedience to his commandment, Thou saidst unto me, *Return unto thy Countrey, and to thy kindred;* he presents to him his confidence in his promises, *Thou saidst, I will surely do thee good, and make thy seed, as the sand of the sea;* and upon these grounds and inducements, he comes to the formal prayer, *Erue me, I pray thee deliver me from the hand of my brother;* and he prayes for others as well as himself; *for I fear he will smite me, and the Mothers upon the Children:* He solicites God for all that are committed to him. And as in the Midst of danger, he came to preparation, and in the midst of his preparations, he came to this prayer, so in the midst of this prayer, he comes to this humble and gratefull consideration, that God had been already more bountifull unto him than he could have proposed to his hopes or to his wishes, *I am not worthy of the least of all thy Mercyes and of all the Truth which thou hast shewed unto thy servant; for with my staffe I passed over this* Jordan; *and now I am become two bands.*

[Gen. 32.] ver. 9

Divisio

First then this part of the prayer, hath in it, that which is the Center and Basis, and establish-ment of all true prayers, A disclaiming of Merit; for when a man pretends Merit, it is so far from a prayer, as that it is rather a chalenge, an increpation, an exprobration of his slacknes to whom we speak, that he gives us not without asking: I am not worthy sayes *Jacob.* But yet though *Jacob* confess humblie this unworthyness in himselfe, yet he does not say that he is, or was Nothing at all, in respect of these benefits. It is not *Nihil sum,* but *katon, parvus sum, Impar sum;* Man is no such thing as can invite God to work upon him, but he is such a thing, as nothing else is capable of his working but man. It is not much that he is; but something he is: But *parvus sum, præ omnibus, præ singulis;* whether I take my self altogether, thus grown up in honour, in office, in estate, or whether I take my self in pieces, and consider every step, that thy mighty hand hath led me;

I am not worthy of all these, nor of any of these degrees; not of the least of these. Not whether I consider thy mercies, which are the promises that God makes to us at first, out of his meer gracious goodness, or whether I consider thy truth, the assuredness of those promises, to which he hath been pleased to bind himself; *non sum dignus,* not whether we consider this Truth, and fidelity of God *in Spe,* in our own hope, and confident, and patient expectation, that they shall be performed unto us, or whether we consider them *in Re,* in our thankfulness, and experience, as truths already performed unto us; the truth which thou hast shewed, for all these mercies, and all these truths, all these promises, and all these performances, as they found no title at all in me to them at first, so they imprint no other title in me by being come, but to make me his servant, to use them to his glory. *I am not worthy of the least of all thy mercies, and of all the truth, which thou hast shewed unto thy servant; for with my staff I passed over this* Jordan; *and now I am become two bands.* And then for a second part, all this consideration *Jacob* seals with a reason, *for;* it is not a fashional complement with God, it is not a sad and melancholique dejection, and undervaluing of himself; but he assigns his particular reason, and that is, what his former state was, what his present state is. I came over *Jordan,* he was forced to leave his Countrey; and he came over it but with a staffe, in a poor and ill provided manner; and with his staffe, no assistance but his own. And he returns again, ther's his first comfort; and he returns now; now that God had spoken to him before he set out, and now that God had revealed to him an army of Angels in his assistance, and now that God had increased his temporal state so far, as that he was become two bands, so that though he should loose much, yet he had much left.

In benefits that pass from men of higher ranck, to persons of lower condition, it is not the way to get them, to ground the request upon our own merit; Merit implies an obligation, that we have laid upon them; and that implies a debt. And a Petition for a due debt is an affront; it is not so much a Petition delivered as a writ served upon him, to call him to answer his injust deteining of a just debt. Thus it is amongst men between whom there may be true merit; but toward God there can be none; and therefore much more their boldness to proceed with him upon pretence of merit. *Et de Deo, non tanquam ac*

benefico largitore, sed tanquam de tardo debitore cogitare; That if we come not to our ends, and preferment quickly, we should give over considering God as a gratious, and free giver in his time, and begin to consider him as a slack pay master, and ill debtor, because he payes not at our time. No Man was worthy to be biden to the supper; But Mat. 22.8
those that were biden, were not worthy; that invitation made them not worthy. No sparke of worth in us, before God call us; but that first grace of his, doth not presently make us worthy. If we love Christ a little and allow him his share, but love father and mother more, if we Mat. 10.37
renounce all other love, we are not ambitious, but yet would live quiet, without troubles, without crosses, if we take not up our cross, or if we take it, and sink under it, if we do not follow, or if we follow a wrong guide, bear our afflictions with the stupidity of a Stoique, or with the pertinacy of an Heretique, If we love not Christ, more then all, and take our cross, and follow, and follow him, *non digni sumus* we are not
worthy of him. Nay all this doth not make us worthy really, but imputatively; they shall be counted worthy to enjoy the next world, and the Luk. 20.35
resurrection, says Christ. We are not worthy as to profess our unworthiness; It is a degree of spiritual exaltation, to be sensible of our lowness; I am not worthy to stoop down, and unloose his shoe latchet, says *John* Mar. 1.7
Baptist; even humility it self is a pride, if we think it to be our own. Onely say thus to Christ with the Centurion, *Non dignus ut venirem,* Luk. 7.7
I was not worthy to come to thee, *non dignus ut intres,* I was not worthy, that thou shouldest come to me, and let others say of thee, as those Elders, whom the Centurion sent, said of him, *dignus est,* he is
worthy, that Christ should do for him. Be thou humble in thy self, and thou shalt be worthy of a double honour; thou shalt be truly worthy in the sight of man, and thou shalt be counted worthy in the sight of God.

Now for all this unworthiness, *Jacob* doth not so much extenuate *Parvus*
himself, as to annihilate himself. The word is *Katon;* it is not *Elil,* it is *parvus sum,* not *nihil sum.* It is but little, that man is, proportioned to the working of God; but yet man is that creature, who onely of all other creatures can answer the inspiration of God, when his grace comes, and exhibit acceptable service to him, and cooperate with him.
No other creature is capable of grace, if it could be offered to them. It is true and useful, that *Cyprian* presses, *nihil est nostrum; nam quid* *Cyp.*

habes quod non accepisti, What hast thou that thou hast not received? Here's a *Nihil nostrum;* but he doeth not press it so far as to say *nihil nos;* here's a *nihil habemus,* we have nothing, but not a *nihil sumus,* that we are nothing; it is true, and useful, that *Hierom* says, *ipsum meum, sine Dei semper auxilio non erit meum,* without the continual concurrence of Gods grace, that which is mine now, would be lost, and be none of mine; but it is as true, that *Augustin* says too, *Certum est nos velle & facere cum volumus & facimus,* It is we our selves, that choose, and perform those spiritual actions, which the grace of God onely enables us to choose and perform. It is truly and elegantly said by *Ambrose,* of our power, and our will, *Ei committi, nihil aliud quam dimitti,* to be delivered to our own will, is to be delivered to the executioner, for *nihil habet in suis vicibus, nisi periculi facilitatem,* it hath nothing in it, but a nearness of danger; but yet, God hath made a natural man onely capable of his grace; and in those men, in whom he hath begun a regeneration, by his first grace, his grace proceeds not, without a cooperation of those men. This humility then is safely limited in *Jacobs* bounds, *parvus sum,* it is no great matter that I am; but yet come not to such a *nihil sum,* such an extenuation of thy self, as to think, that grace works upon thee, as the sun does upon gold, or precious stones, to purifie them to that concoction, without any sense in themselves.

Hier. *Epist.* 1. *ad.*

Præ omnibus

Now this littleness, how poor, and small a thing Man is, appears to him, whether he consider himself *in omnibus,* or *in singulis,* as the word imports here, as he is altogether, or as he is taken a sunder. Take man at his best and greatest growth, as he is honourable, for, as there is a stamp, that gives values to gold, so doth honour, and estimation to the temporal blessings of this life. Honour is that which God esteems most, and is most jealous of in himself, his honour he will give to none, and it is the broadest, and apparantest outward seal, by which he testifies his love to man, but yet what greatness is this, in which *David* repeats that infirmity twice in one Psalm, *Man shall not continue in honour, but is like the beasts that dye: Man is in honour, and understandeth not; he is like to the beasts that perish.* In nature things that are above us, shew as little, as things below us; men upon a hill are as little to them in the valley, as they in the valley to them that are raised. It is so in nature; but we have forced an unnatural perversness

Psal. 49.12

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in our selves, to think nothing great but that which is a great way above us; whereas if we will look downwards, and see above how many better deservers God hath raised us, we shall finde at least such a greatness in our selves, as deserves a great thanksgiving, but yet take thy self altogether at thy greatest, and say with *Jacob, parvus sum,* all this is but a little greatness, but a poor riches, but an ignoble honour. In all this, thou dost but wrap up a snow-ball upon a coal of fire; there is that within thee that melts thee, as fast, as thou growest: thou buildest in Marble, and thy soul dwells in those mud-walls, that have moldred away, ever since they were made. Take thy self altogether, and thou art but a man; and what's that: ask *Aristotle,* says S. *Chrysostome,* and he will tell thee, *Animal rationale,* man is a reasonable Creature; but ask God and he will tell thee, *Animal irreprehensibile;* a man is a good man. *There was a man in the land of Huz, called Job; an upright and just man that feared God;* All men truly men, are Copies of this man. And *sine hac humanitate,* without being such a man as he, whose man soever thou beest, and whose master, whosoever thou beest, *parvus es,* all is but a small matter, considered together, and at best.

Chrysost.

[Job 1.1]

But we may better discern our selves *in singulis,* then *in omnibus;* better by taking ourselves in pieces, then altogether, we understand the frame of mans body, better when we see him naked, than apparrelled, howsoever; and better by seeing him cut up, than by seeing him do any exercise alive; one desection, one Anatomy teaches more of that, than the marching, or drilling of a whole army of living men. Let every one of us therefore dissect and cut up himself, and consider what he was before God raised him friends to bring those abilities, and good parts, which he had, into knowledge, and into use, and into employment; what he was before he had by education, and study, and industry, imprinted those abilities in his soul; what he was before that soul was infused into him, capable of such education; what he was, when he was but in the list, and catalogue of creatures, and might have been left in the state of a worm, or a plant, or a stone; what he was, when he was not so far, but onely in the vast and unexpressible, and unimaginable depth, of nothing at all. But especially let him consider, what he was when he lay smothered up in *massa damnata,* in that leavened lump of *Adam,* where he was wrapped up in damnation. And

Præ singulis

then let him consider forward again, that God in his decree severed him out, in that lump, and ordained him to a particular salvation; that he provided him parents, that were within the Covenant, that should prepare, and pour out a body for him; that he himself created, and infused an immortal soul into him; that then he put a care in his parents, perchance in strangers, to breed him to a capableness of some course. That then God took him by the hand, and led him into the Court; that there he held him by the hand, and defended him against envy, and practise; that he hath clothed him with the opinions of good men; that he hath adorned him with riches, and with titles; let a man stand thus, and ruminate, and spell over Gods several blessings to him, sylable by sylable, and he shall not onely say, *parvus sum,* when he considers himself at his growth and altogether, but *parvus eram* I was too mean a subject for thee to look or work upon in the least of these expressings of thy goodness.

Miserationis And thus it is whether we consider this goodness of God, *in miserationibus,* In his mercies, or *in veritate,* in his truth. Not that Gods mercy and truth are ever severed; But we take his mercy to be that promise, that covenant, which out of his own free goodness he was pleased to make to man and which is grounded upon nothing, but his own pleasure, and we take truth, and fidelity, to be the performance, and execution of those merciful promises, which truth is grounded upon his promise. Now for his mercies, first, though we say as truly as School terms can reach to, *Misericordia præsumit miseriam,* we can consider no mercy, till something be miserable, upon whom mercy may work, and so cannot properly place mercy in God, before the fall of man in such a respect, yet though the work of creation, were not a work of mercy, being intended onely and wholly to his glory, yet to create man, in an ability to glorifie him in that way, and that measure as he did, this was a work of mercy, because man had been less happy without that ability. So that of this mercy to man, of being dignified above all other creatures, in the contributing to the glory of the Creator, but especially of that mercy of electing certain men, in whom he would preserve that dignity, which others should forfeit, of this general mercy, mankind was not worthy, of this particular mercy these particular men were not worthy, for neither these men, nor this mankind was then at all, when God had this mercy upon them.

But for our understanding the goodness of God, and thereby our own unworthiness, it appears best in the consideration of his truth, of the performance of these his promises, for by the strength of his truth, and fidelity in God, is my soul raised to that, that that which is ordinarily, and naturally the terrour of the conscience of a sinner, is the peace of mine, that which is naturally a tempest, is my calm, that which is naturally a rock to shipwrack at, is my Anchor to ride out all foul weather: and that is, the justice of God; that which would shake, and shiver my conscience, if there were no mercy nor promise, settles it now because there is a truth, that that promise shall be performed to me. *Veritates*

Briefly, God was merciful, it was meer mercy in him, to promise a Messias Christ Jesus, when *Adam* was fallen; but to give him when he had promised him, was justice, and truth, and fidelity. So that he applies Christ Jesus to me by the working of his blessed Spirit, this is meer mercy; but that when Christ is thus applied to me, I have peace of conscience and an inchoation of the kingdom of heaven here, this is his *Justice, and Truth, and fidelity:* So that the next, and immediate resting place for my salvation, and my peace, is the Justice of God. Now, for the expressing of his Largeness, in exhibiting to us those blessings, which belong to this promise, It is an usefull consideration, which arises out of that miraculous budding of the rods of the Twelve tribes: Gods promise goes no farther but that, for that Man whom he would chuse *virga germinabit,* His rod should bud forth; but when *Moses* on the morrow went to look how his promise was performed, *Levies* rod had budded, and blossomed, and born perfect fruit; In his mercys, he exceeds his promises; In his judgments he contracts them; as we see he contracted Davids pestilence of three dayes, into less than one. He punishes to the third, and fourth generation; but he shewes mercy unto thousands. He gives more than he promises; and he does it sooner; as *St Chrysostome* observes: That whereas mans fashion is to demolish and pull down that in one day, which spent many monthes in the setting up, God dispatches faster in his building, and reparation, than in his ruin and distruction; He built all the world in six days, (sayes he) and when the would destroy but one Town, *Jerico,* he imployd Eight; Consider him then *in Miserationibus,* in his mercies, or *in veritate* in his truth, and wherein were we worthy of the least of these promises, or performances?

Numb. 17.[1–9]

Exod. 20.[5 and 6]
Chrys.

Expectatio Now, of these mercies grounded upon Gods will, and of these truths grounded upon his word, we must necessarily acknowledge an unworthyness in our selves, if they were proposed to us, but as expectancies, but as reversions, that should be had; nay but as possibilities, *Aug.* that they might be had: for *Perdidimus possibilitatem boni;* that's our case now; that we have lost all possibility of doing, or receiving any good of our selves. In decimations upon popular rebellions, when they tithe men for execution, every man conceives a just hope; for it is ten to one he may scape with his life. In Lotteries, though the odds be great on the other side, every man hopes, he that is never so far off in a remainder for land, would be loth to have his name expunged, Joh. 5.[5–7] and raced out. He that had been sick thirty eight years, and could never get into the pool, yet he came still in hope that he should get in at last: It is thus in civil and moral things; it is much more so in divine; even expectation from God is a degree of fruition. There is Psal. 40.[1] no paine in *Davids* expectance *expectavi Dominum,* in waiting patiently for the Lord, as long as we know *Habakkuks veniens veniet* [Habakkuk] 2.3 *Dominus,* Because the Lord will surely come, says he, therefore he does not tary. It is no loss to stay Gods coming, because God will stay when he comes: when we are sure that God will come to succour us, to weaken our enemies, That's a mercy, and that's a truth, which we are not worthy of though he be not come yet.

Experientia But *Jacob* considers here, and every man may in his particular, the mercys, and truths which God had shewed him already; neither doth the word which both our translations have accepted here, answer the original nor reach home. It is not onely, showing; God may shew mercy, and truth, by way of offering it, and withdraw it again, as he doth from unworthy receivers of the Sacrament; he may shew it, by way of example; and encourage us by seeing how he hath dealt with others; he may shew it, and exclude us from it; as he shewed Deut. *ult.* [34.1–4] *Moses* the land of promise. But there it is onely *Videre fecit,* but here it is *fecit* it self; there it was a land which God shewed, here it is Mercies, and Truths, *quas fecisti,* which thou hast done, and performed towards me; and then comes *David* especially to his *quid* Psal. 116.[12] *retribuam tibi,* when he considers *omnia quæ tribuisti mihi. Thine* [1 Chron. 29.11 and 12] *O Lord,* says he, *is greatness, and power, and glory and victory and praise; all that is in heaven, and earth is thine; thine is the kingdome,*

riches, and honour come of thee, in thy hand it is to make great, and to give strength: But who am I, said *David, and what is my people, that we should be able to offer willingly, after this sort? All things came from thee; and of thine own hand, have we given thee.* Why thus much was *David,* thus much was his people, thus much are all they, to whom God hath done so, in mercy, and in truth, and hath made gracious promises, and performed them, that they are thereby become debtors to God, his stewards, his servants; which is *Jacobs* last step in this part, mercies and truths which thou hast shewed, to thy servant. 1 Chron. 29.14

All this greatness, makes him not proud: for all this he is not the less his servant, whose service is perfect freedome. Here men that serve inferiour masters, when they mend in their estate, or in their capacity, they affect higher services, and at last the Kings; when they are there, they can serve no better master, but they may serve him, in a better, and better place; if thou have served the world, and Mammon, all this while, yet now that thou hast wherewithall, come into Gods service; shew thy love to God, in imploying that which thou hast, to his glory; if thou gottest that which thou hast, in his service, (as if thou gottest it by honest ways, in thy calling, thou hast done so) yet come to serve him in a better place; in gathering, thou hast but served him in his mines, in distributing thou shalt serve him in his treasury. If thou have served him in fetters, *Noli timere serve compedite, sed confitere Domino & vertentur in ornamenta;* let not thy fetters, thy narrow fortune, terrifie thee; thy fetters, thy low estate, shall be rings, and collars, and garters, not onely sufficiencies, but abundance, and ornaments to thee: what dishes soever he set before thee, still let this be thy grace, *Parvus sum, I am not worthy of the least of all thy mercies, and of all the truth which thou hast shewed unto thy servant; for with my staff I passed over this* Jordan, *and now I am become two bands.* *Servus* *Aug.*

We have passed through all the branches, of that which we proposed for the first part, the confession of his own unworthiness. We found a second part implied in this word, *for;* which was, that this acknowledgement of his proceeded not out of formality and custome, or stupidity, and dejection, but out of debatement, and consideration and reason; and then we found that reason deduc'd and deriv'd into 2 Part *Quia*

these two great branches, what his former state had been, *With my staff I passed over this* Jordan, and what his present state was, *I am become two bands.* For the reason in general, he that does any spiritual duty even towards God, in praising, and magnifying him, and not upon good reason, this man flatters God; not that he can say more good, than is always true of God; but towards God, as well as towards man, it is true, that he that speaks more good than himself believes to be true, he flatters, how true soever it be that he speaks. *Such praise shall be counted as a curse; and such oyl breaks a mans head.*

Pro. 27.14

Those Sceptique philosophers, that doubted of all, though they affirmed nothing, yet they denied nothing neither, but they saw no reason in the opinions of others. Those Sceptique Christians, that doubt whether God have any particular providence, any care of particular actions; those which doubt, whether the history of Christ be true, or no; those doubting men, that conform themselves outwardly with us, because that may be true, that we profess, for any thing they know, there may be a Christ, and they might be the worse, for any thing they know, if they left him out, they might prove worse, and in the mean time they enjoy temporal peace, and benefit of the Laws by this outward profession of theirs; those men that sacrifice to Christ Jesus onely, *ne noceat,* least if there be such a God, they should lose him for want of a sacrifice, that worship Christ Jesus with a reservation of the pretended God, that if he prove God at last, they have done their part, if he do not, yet they are never the worse; these men, if they come to Church, think themselves safe enough, but they are deceived; The Militant, and the Triumphant Church is all one Church, but above in the triumphant Church, there are other Churchwardens, than here, and though he come to do the outward acts of religion, if he do it without a religious heart, they know him to be a Recusant, for all his coming to Church here, he shall be excommunicate in the triumphant there. He praises not God, he prays not to God, he worships him not, whatsoever he does, if he have not considered it, debated it, concluded it, to be rightly done, and necessarily done. If he think any thing else better done, this is not well done.

Exul. *Jacob* had concluded it out of the contemplation of his former, and present state; first he had been banished from his Countrey, *I came over* Jordan; Herein he was a figure of Christ; he received a blessing

from his father, and presently he must go into banishment; Christ received presents and adoration from the Magi of the east, and presently he submits himself to a banishment in *Egypt,* for the danger that *Herod* intended. Christs Banishment, as it could not be less then four years, so it could not be more then seven; *Jacobs* was twenty, a banishment, and a long banishment. Banishment is the first punishment executed upon man; he was banished out of Paradise; and it is the last punishment, that we shall be redeemed from, when we shall be received intirely body and soul, into our Countrey, into heaven. It is true our life in this world is not called a banishment any where in the Scripture: but a pilgrimage, a peregrination, a travell; but *peregrinatio cum ignominia conjuncta, exilium;* he that leaves his Countrey because he was ashamed, or afraid to return to it, or to stay in it, is a banished man. Briefly for *Jacobs* case here, S. *Bernard* expresses it well in his own, *est commune exilium,* there is one banishment common to us all, *in corpore peregrinamur a domino,* we travell out of our Countrey at least; but, *Accessit & speciale, quod me pene inpatientem reddit quod cogar vivere sine vobis.* This was a particular misery, in his banishment, that *Jacob* must live from his father, and mother, and from that Country, where he was to have the fruits, and effects of that blessing which he had got.

[Mat. 2.13–15]

He came away then, and he came away poor: *in baculo* with a staff; God expresses sometimes abundance, and strength, in *baculo,* in that word. Oftentimes he calls plenty, by that name, the staff of bread. But *Jacobs* is no Metaphorical staff, it is a real staff, the companion, and the support of a poor travelling man. When Christ enjoyns his Apostles to an exact poverty, for one journey, which they were to dispatch quickly, S. *Matthew* expresses his commandment thus, possess no monies, nor two coats nor a shoe, nor a staff; S. *Mark* expresses the same commandment thus, take none of those with you, except a staff onely. The fathers go about to reconcile this, by taking *staff* in both places figuratively; that the staff forbidden in *Matthew,* should be *potestas puniendi,* the power of correcting which the Apostle speaks of, *Num quid vultis veniam in virga? shall I come to you with a rod, or in love?* And that the staff allowed in *Mark,* is *potestas consolandi,* the power of comforting which *David* speaks of, *Virga tua, & baculus tuus, ipsa me consolata sunt, Thy rod and thy*

Baculus

[Mat. 10.10] [Mark 6.8 and 9]

1 Cor. 4.21

Psal. 23.4

staff they comfort me. Christ spoke this but once, but in his language, the *Syriack,* he spoke it in a word that hath two significations. *Shebat,* is both *Baculus defensorius,* and *Baculus sustentatorius;* A staff of sustentation, and a staff of defence. God that spoke in Christs *Syriack,* spoke in the Evangelists Greek too; and both belong to us; and both the Evangelists intending the use of the staff, and not the staff it self, S. *Matthew* in that word forbids any staff, of violence or defence, S. *Mark* allows a staff of sustentation, and support; and such a staff, and no more had *Jacob,* a staff to sustain him upon his way. Hath this then been thy state with *Jacob,* that thou hast not onely been without the staff of bread, plenty, and abundance of temporal blessings, but without the staff of defence, that when the world hath snarl'd and barked at thee, and that thou wouldst justly have beaten a dog, yet thou couldst not finde a staff, thou hadst no means to right thy self? yet he hath not left thee without a staff of support, a staff to try how deep the waters be, that thou art to wade through, that is thy Christian constancy, and thy Christian discretion: use that staff aright, and as Christ, who sent his Apostles without any staff of defence once, afterward gave them leave to carry swords, so at his pleasure, and in his measure, he will make thy staff, a sword, by giving thee means to defend thy self, and others over whom he will give thee charge, and jurisdiction in exalting thee.

Luke 22.36

Suus But herein in doing so, God assists thee with the staff of others; with the favour and support of other men; *Jacob* was first *in Baculo,* and *in suo,* nothing but a staff; no staff but his own; truly his own, for we call other staffes ours, which are not ours, *My people ask counsell of their stocks, and their staff teacheth them;* that is, they have made their own wisdom, their own plots, their own industry, their staff, upon which they should not relye; and so we trust to a broken staff of reed, on which, if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and peirce it; when God hath given thee a staff of thine own, a leading staff, a competency, a conveniency to lead thee through the difficulties, and encombrances of this world, if thou put a pike into thy staff, murmuring at thine own, envying superiours, oppressing inferiours, then this piked staff is not thy staff, nor Gods staff, but it is *Baculus inimici hominis;* and the envious man in the Gospel, is the devil. If God have made thy staff to blossom, and bear ripe fruit in

Hos. 4.12

2 Reg. 18.21

a night, enriched thee, preferred thee a pace, this is not thy staff; it is a Mace, and a mark of thy office, that he hath made thee his Steward of those blessings. To end this, a mans own staff, truly, properly, is nothing but his own natural faculties: nature is ours, but grace is not ours; and he that is left to this staff of his own, for heaven, is as ill provided, as *Jacob* was, for this world, when he was left to his own staff at *Jordan,* when he was banished; and banished in poverty, and banished alone.

Thus far we have seen *Jacob* in his low estate; now we bring him to his happyness: in which it is always one degree to make hast; and so we will; all is comprised in this: that *is,* was present. Now I am two bands, now; it was first now, *quando revertitur,* now when he returned to his Countrey, for he was come very near it, when he speaks of *Jordan,* as though he stood by it, I came over this *Jordan.* It is hard to say, whether the returning to a blessing, formerly possessed, and lost for a while, be not a greater pleasure, then the coming to a new one. It is S. *Augustins* observation, that that land, which is so often called the land of promise, was their land from the beginning, from the beginning *Sem,* of whom they came, dwelt there: and though God restored them by a miraculous power, to their possession, yet still it was a returning: and so the blessing is ever more expressed; a return from *Egypt,* a return from *Babylon,* and a return from their present dispersion is that, which comforts them still; Christ himself had this apprehension, *clarifica me,* Glorifie me thou, father, with that glory, which I had with thee before the world was. Certainly our best assurance of salvation, is but a returning to our first state, in the decree of God for our election; when we can consider our interest in that decree, we return. Our best state in this life, is but a returning, to the purity, which we had in our baptism; whosoever surprises himself in the act or in the remorse of any sin that he is fallen into, would think himself in a blessed state, if he could bring his conscience to that peace again, which he remembers, he had the last time he made up his accounts to God, and had his discharge sealed in the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ Jesus. Cleanse thy self often therefore, and accustome thy soul to that peace, that thou mayest still, when thou fallest into sin, have such a state in thy memory, as thou mayest have a desire to return to: and the Spirit of

Revertitur

Aug.

Joh. 17.5

Eccles. 12.7 God shall still return to thee, who lovest to receive it, and at last thy spirit, shall return to him that gave it, and gave his own spirit for it.

Jubente Domino *Jacobs* happiness appears first now, *quando revertitur;* and now, *quando jubente Domino,* now, when he returned, and now when he

Gen. 31.3 returned upon Gods bidding, God had said unto him, turn again into the land of thy fathers, and I will be with thee. Think no step to be directly made towards preferment, if thou have not heard Gods

[Jer. 6.16] voice directing the way. *Stare in usque;* stand upon the ways, and
510 inquire not of thy fathers, but of the God of thy fathers, which way thou shalt go: for Gods voice may be heard in every action, if we will stand still a little, and hearken to it. Remember ever more, that *Applica Ephod;* where *David* comes to ask counsell of the Lord, he

1 Sam. 30.7 said to *Abiather, Applica Ephod;* bring the *Ephod;* and there *David* askes, *Shall I follow this company, shall I overtake them?* when thou doubtest of any thing, *Applica Ephod,* take this book of God: if, to thine understanding, that reach not home punctually to thy particular case, thou hast an *Ephod* in thy self; God is not departed from thee; thou knowest by thy self, it is a vain complaint that *Plu-*
520 *tarch* makes, *defectu oraculorum,* that oracles are ceased; there is no defect of oracles in thine own bosome; as soon as thou askest thy self, how may I corrupt the integrity of such a Judge, undermine the strength of such a great person, shake the chastity of such a woman, thou hast an answer quickly it must be done by bribing, it must be done by swearing, it must be done by calumniating. Here is no *defectus Oraculorum* no ceasing of Oracles, there is a present answer from the Devil. There is no defect of the *Vrim,* and *Thummim* of God neither, If thou wilt look into it, for as it is well said of the Morall Man, *Sua cuique providentia Deus* Every mans Diligence,
530 and discretion is a God to himselfe, so it is well said, of the Christian Father *Augustin, Recta ratio Verbum Dei* a rectified Conscience is the word of God. *Applica Ephod,* bring thine Actions to the question of the *Ephod,* to the debatment of thy conscience rectified, and [thou] still shalt hear, *Jubentem Dominum* or *Dominum Revocantem,* God will bid thee stop, or God will bid thee go forwards in that way.

Angeli But herein had *Jacob* another degree of happiness, That the Commandement of God, was persued with the Testimony of Angells. Not that the voyce of God needs strength; *Teste me ipso* witness my

selfe, was always witness enough; and *Quia os Domini Locutum,* the Mouth of the Lord hath spoken it, was always seal enough. But that hath been Gods abundant and overflowing goodness, ever to succor the infirmity of Man, with sensible and visible things; with the pillars in the Wilderness; with the Tabarnacle after; and with the Temple and all the mysterious, and significative furniture thereof after all. So God leaves not *Jacob* to the general knowledge, that the Angels of God protect Gods Children, but he manifested those Angels unto him, *Occurrerunt ei,* the Angels of God met him. The word of God is an infalible guide to thee, But God hath provided thee also visible, and manifest assistants, the Pillar his Church, and the Angels his Ministers in the Church. The Scripture is thine onely *Ephod,* but *Applica Ephod,* apply it to thee by his Church, and by his visible Angels, and not by thine own private interpretation. [Gen. 32.1]

This was *Jacobs nunc;* now, when he was returned, returned upon Gods Commandement; upon Gods Commandement pursued, and testified by Angels, and Angels visibly manifested; now, he could take a comfort in the contemplation of his fortune, of his estate, to see, that he was two bands. Here's a great change; we see his vowe; and we see how far his wishes extended at his going out; *If God will give me bread to eate, and cloathes to put on, so that I come againe unto my fathers house in safety, then shall the Lord be my God.* In which vow is included all the service that he could exhibite, or retribute to God. Now his staffe is become a sword; a strong Army; his one staff now is multiplyed; his wives are given for staffes to assist him, and his children given also for staffes to his age. His own staffe is become the greatest, and best part of *Labans* wealth; In such plenty, as that he could spare a present to *Esau,* of at least five hundred head of cattell. The fathers make Morall expositions of this; That his two bands are his Temporall blessings and his spirituall: And St. *Augustin* findes a typicall allusion in it of Christ, *Baculo Crucis Christus apprehendit mundum; & cum duabus turmis, duobus populis, ad patrem rediit:* Christ by his staffe, his Cross, muster'd two bands, that is Jews, and Gentiles. We finde enough for our purpose, in taking it literally, as we see it in the Text; That he divided all his company, and all his cattell into two troups, that if *Esau* come, and smite one, the other might scape. For then onely is a fortune full, 2 Turmæ Gen. 28.20 [and 21] Aug.

when there is somthing for Leakage, for wast; when a Man, though he may justly fear, that this shall be taken from him, yet he may justly presume, that this shall be left to him; though he lose much, yet he shall have enough. And this was *Jacobs* increase and height; and from this lowness; from one staff, to two bands. And therefore, since in God we can consider but one state *Semper idem* immutable; since in the Devil, we can consider but two states *Quomodo cecidit filius Orientis,* that he was the son of the Morning, but is, and shall ever be for ever the child of everlasting death; since in *Jacob* and in our selves we can consider first, that God made man righteous, secondly that man betooke himself to his one staff, and his own staff, The imaginations of his own heart, Thirdly, That by the word of God manifested by his Angels, he returns with two bands, Body and Soul, to his heavenly father againe, let us attribute all to his goodness, and confesse to him and the world, *That we are not worthy of the least of all his Mercies, and of all the Truth which he hath shewed unto his Servant, for with my staff I passed over this* Jordan, *and now I am become two bands.*

[Isa. 14.12]

Number 8.

A Sermon Preached at White-Hall. April 19. 1618.

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1 Tim. 1.15. *THIS IS A FAITHFULL SAYING, AND WORTHY OF ALL ACCEPTATION, THAT* CHRIST JESUS *CAME INTO THE WORLD TO SAVE SINNERS; OF WHICH I AM THE CHIEFEST.*

The greatest part of the body of the old-Testament is Prophecy, and that is especially of future things: The greatest part of the new-Testament, if wee number the peeces, is Epistles, Relations of things past, for instruction of the present. They erre not much, that call the whole new-Testament Epistle: For, even the Gospells are *Evangelia,* good Messages, and that's proper to an Epistle, and the booke of the Acts of the Apostles is superscrib'd, by Saint *Luke,* to one Person, to *Theophilus,* and that's proper to an Epistle; and so is the last booke, the booke of Revelation, to the severall Churches; and of the rest there is no question. An Epistle is *collocutio scripta,* saies Saint *Ambrose,* Though it be written far off, and sent, yet it is a Conference, and *seperatos copulat,* sayes hee; by this meanes wee overcome distances, we deceive absences, and wee are together even then when wee are asunder: And therefore, in this kinde of conveying spirituall comfort to their friends, have the ancient Fathers been more exercised then in any other form, almost all of them have written Epistles: One of them, *Isidorus,* him whom wee call *Peluciotes,* Saint *Chrysostom's* schollar is noted to have written Myriades, and in those Epistles, to have interpreted the whole Scriptures: St. *Paul* gave them the example, he writ nothing but in this kind, and in this exceeded all his fellow Apostles, *ut pateretur* Paulus, *quod*

Nicephor.

Saulus *fecerit,* saies St. *Austin,* That as he had asked Letters of Commission of the State to persecute Christians, so by these Letters of Consolation, hee might recompence that Church againe, which hee had so much damnified before: As the Hebrew Rabbins say, That *Rahab* did let down *Joshuah's* spies, out of her house, with the same cord, with which she had used formerly to draw up her adultrous lovers, into her house. Now the holy-Ghost was in all the Authors, of all the books of the Bible, but in Saint *Paul's* Epistles, there is, sayes *Irenæus, Impetus Spiritus Sancti,* The vehemence, the force of the holy-Ghost; And as that vehemence is in all his Epistles, so *amplius habent, quæ e vinculis,* (as Saint *Chrysostome* makes the observation) Those Epistles which were written in Prison, have most of this holy vehemence, and this (as that Father notes also) is one of them; And of all them, we may justly conceive this to be the most vehement and forcible, in which he undertakes to instruct a Bishop in his Episcopall function, which is, to propagate the Gospell; for, he is but an ill Bishop that leaves Christ where he found him, in whose time the Gospell is yet no farther than it was; how much worse is he, in whose time the Gospell loses ground? who leaves not the Gospell in so good state as he found it? Now of this Gospell, here recommended by *Paul* to *Timothie,* this is the Summe; *That Christ Jesus came into the World to save Sinners, &c.*

Division

Here then we shall have these three Parts; First *Radicem,* The Roote of the Gospell, from whence it springs; it is *fidelis sermo,* a faithfull Word, which cannot erre: And secondly, we have *Arborem, Corpus;* the Tree, the Body, the substance of the Gospell, That *Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners;* And then lastly, *fructum Evangelii,* the fruit of the Gospell, *Humility,* that it brings them who embrace it, to acknowledg themselves to be the greatest sinners. And in the first of these, the Roote it selfe, wee shall passe by these steps: First, that it is *Sermo,* the Word; That the Gospell hath as good a ground as the Law; the new-Testament as well founded as the Old; It is the word of God: And then it is *fidelis Sermo,* a faithfull Word: now both Old and New are so, and equally so; but in this, the Gospell is *fidelior,* the more faithfull, and the more sure, because that word, the Law, hath had a determination, an expiration, but the Gospell shall never have that. And againe, It is *Sermo omni acceptatione*

dignus, Worthy of all acceptation; not only worthy to bee received by our Faith, but even by our Reason too; our Reason cannot hold out against the proofes of Christians for their Gospell: And as the word imports it deserves *omnem acceptationem,* and *omnem approbationem,* all approbation, and therefore, as wee should not dispute against it, and so are bound to accept it, to receive it, not to speake against it; so neither should wee doe any thing against it; as wee are bound to receive it by acknowledgment, so wee are bound to approve it, by conforming our selves unto it; our consent to it shewes our acceptation, our life our approbation; and so much is in the first Part, the Roote; *This is a faithfull Word, and worthy of all acceptation.* And in the Second, the Tree, the Body, the substance of the Gospell; That *Jesus Christ is come into the World to save Sinners;* First, here is an *Advent,* a coming of a new Person into the World who was not here before, *venit in mundum,* hee came into the World; And secondly, hee that came, is first Christ, a mixt Person, God and Man, and thereby capable of that Office, able to reconcile God and Man; And *Christus* so too, a person anoynted, appointed, and sent for that purpose, to reconcile God and Man; And then hee is *Jesus,* one [who] did actually and really doe the office of a Saviour, hee did reconcile God and Man; for, there wee see also the Reason why hee came; Hee came to Save; and whom hee came to Save; to save Sinners: And these will bee the branches and limbs of this Body. And then lastly, when wee come to consider the fruit, which is indeede the seede, and kernell, and soul of all virtues, *Humility;* then wee shall meete the Apostle confessing himselfe to bee the greatest Sinner, not only with a *fui,* that hee was so whilest he was a Persecutor, but with a present *sum,* that even now, after hee had received the faithfull Word, the light of the Gospell, yet hee was still the greatest Sinner; of which (*Sinners*) I (though an *Apostle*) am (am still) the chiefest.

First then, the Gospell is founded and rooted *in sermone, in verbo,* in the Word; it cannot deserve *omnem acceptationem,* if it bee not Gospell, and it is not Gospell, if it be not *in sermone,* rooted in the Word: Christ himselfe, as he hath an eternall Generation, is *verbum Dei,* Himselfe is the Word of God; And as he hath a humane Generation, he is *subjectum verbi Dei,* the subject of the Word of God, of all the Scriptures, of all that was shadowed in the Types, and figur'd

Part 1

[Joh. 1.1 and 14]

in the Ceremonies, and prepared in the preventions of the Law, of all that was foretold by the Prophets, of all that the Soule of man rejoyced in, and congratulated with the Spirit of God, in the *Psalms,* and in the *Canticles,* and in the cheerefull parts of spirituall joy and exultation, which we have in the Scriptures; Christ is the foundation of all those Scriptures, Christ is the burden of all those Songs; Christ was *in sermone* then, then he was in the Word. The joy of those holy Persons which are noted in the Scriptures, to have expressed their joy at the birth of Christ, in such spirituall Hymns and Songs, is expressed so, as that we may see their joy was in this, That that was now *in actu,* that was performed, that was done which was before *in sermone,* in the Promise, in the Word, in the Covenant of God. They rejoyced that Christ was borne; but principally that all was done so, *sicut locutus,* as God had spoken before, that all should be done; done of the seede of a Woman, as God had said in Paradice, done by a Virgin, as God had said by *Esai,* done at *Bethlehem,* as he had said by *Micheas;* and done at that time, as he had said by *Daniel; Sicut locutus est,* sayes *Zacharie,* in his exultation, All is performed as he hath spoke by the mouth of the Prophets, which have beene since the World began. There in the Word, the Gospell begins, and there, and there only, it shall continue for ever, as long as there is any spirituall seed of *Abraham,* any men willing to embrace it, and apply it, as the blessed Virgin expresses it, when *her Soul magnifies the Lord, and her Spirit rejoyces in God her Saviour; sicut locutus,* as God hath spoken to our Fathers, to *Abraham* and his seed for ever: so then there never was, there never must be any other Gospel then is *in sermone,* in the written word of God in the Scriptures. The particular comfort that a Christian conceives, as it is determined and contracted in himself, is principally in this, that Christ is come; his comfort is in this, that he is now saved by him; and he might have this comfort, though Christ had never been *in sermone,* though he had never been prophesied, never spoken of before: But yet the proof and ground of this comfort to himself, that is, the assurance that he hath, That this was that Christ that was to save us; and then, the munition and artillery by which he is to overthrow the forces of the enemy, the arguments and objections of Jews, Gentils and Hereticks, who deny this Christ in whose salvation he trusts, to have been any such Saviour: And then the Band of the

[Gen. 3.15]
[Isa. 7.14]
[Micah 5.2]
[Dan. 9.25]
[Luke 1.70]
[Luke 1.46, 47, and 55]

Church, the Communion of Saints, by which we should prove, That the Patriarchs and the Apostles, our Fathers in the old and new Testament, doe belong all to one Church; this assurance in our self; this ability to prove it to others; this joyning of these two walls, to make up the houshold of the faithfull: This is not only that, that the Sunne of the Gospel is risen, in that Christ is come, but in this, that he is come *sicut locutus est,* as God had spoken of him, and promised him by the mouth of his Prophets from the beginning, as he was *in sermone,* in the word.

In the first Creation, when God made heaven and earth, that making was not *in sermone,* for that could not be prophesied before, because there was no being before; neither is it said, that at that Creation God said any thing, but only *creavit, God made heaven and earth,* and no more; so that that which was made *sine sermone,* without speaking, was only matter without form, heaven without light, and earth without any productive virtue or disposition, to bring forth, and to nourish creatures. But when God came to those specifique formes, and to those creatures wherein he would be sensibly glorified after, they were made *in sermone,* by his word; *Dixit & facta sunt,* God spake, and so all things were made; Light and Firmament, Land and Sea, Plants and Beasts, and Fishes and Fowls were made all *in sermone,* by his word. But when God came to the best of his creatures, to Man, Man was not only made *in verbo,* as the rest were, by speaking a word, but by a Consultation, by a Conference, by a Counsell, *faciamus hominem, let us make Man;* there is a more expresse manifestation of divers persons speaking together, of a concurrence of the Trinity; and not of a saying only, but a mutuall saying; not of a Proposition only, but of a Dialogue in the making of Man: The making of matter alone was *sine verbo,* without any word at all; the making of lesser creatures was *in verbo,* by saying, by speaking; the making of Man was *in sermone,* in a consultation. In this first Creation thus presented there is a shadow, a representation of our second Creation, our Regeneration in Christ, and of the saving knowledge of God; for first there is in Man a knowledge of God, *sine sermone,* without his word, in the book of Creatures: *Non sunt loquelæ,* sayes *David, They have no language, they have no speech, and yet they declare the glory of God.* The correspondence and relation of all parts of Nature to one Author, the

[Gen. 1.1]

[Gen. 1.3–25]

[Gen. 1.26]

Psal. 19

concinnity and dependance of every piece and joynt of this frame of the world, the admirable order, the immutable succession, the lively and certain generation, and birth of effects from their Parents, the causes: in all these, though there be no sound, no voice, yet we may even see that it is an excellent song, an admirable piece of musick and harmony; and that God does (as it were) play upon this Organ in his administration and providence by naturall means and instruments; and so there is some kind of creation in us, some knowledge of God imprinted, *sine sermone,* without any relation to his word. But this is a Creation as of heaven and earth, which were dark and empty, and without form, till the Spirit of God moved, and till God spoke: Till there came the Spirit, the breath of Gods mouth, the word of God, it is but a faint twilight, it is but an uncertain glimmering which we have of God in the Creature: But *in sermone,* in his word, when we come to him in his Scriptures, we finde better and nobler Creatures produced in us, clearer notions of God, and more evident manifestations of his power, and of his goodness towards us: for if we consider him in his first word, *sicut locutus ab initio,* as he spoke from the beginning in the Old Testament, from thence we cannot only see, but feel and apply a *Dixit, fiat lux,* that God hath said, *let there be light;* and that there is a light produced in us, by which we see, that this world was not made by chance, for then it could not consist in this order and regularity; and we see that it was not eternall, for if it were eternall as God, and so no Creature, then it must be God too; we see it had a beginning, a beginning of nothing, and all from God. So we find in our self a *fiat lux,* that there is such a light produced: And there we may find a *fiat firmamentum,* that there is a kind of firmament produced in us, a knowledge of a difference between Heaven and Earth; and that there is in our constitutions an earthly part, a body, and a heavenly part, a soul, and an understanding as a firmament, to separate, distinguish and discern between these. So also may we find a *congregentur aquæ,* that God hath said, *Let there be a sea,* a gathering, a confluence of all such means as are necessary for the attaining of salvation; that is, that God from the beginning settled and established a Church, in which he was alwayes carefull to minister to man means of eternall happiness: The Church is that Sea, and into that Sea we launched [in] the water of Baptism. To contract this: *sine*

sermone, till God spake, in his Creatures only, we have but a faint and uncertain, and generall knowledge of God: *in sermone,* when God comes to speak at first in the Old Testament, though he come to more particulars, yet it was in dark speeches, and in vails; and to them who understood best, and saw clearest into Gods word, still it was but *de futuro,* by way of promise, and of a future thing. But when God comes to his last work, to make Man, to make up Man, that is, to make Man a Christian by the Gospel, when he comes not to a *fiat homo, Let there be a Man* (as he proceeded in the rest) but to a *faciamus hominem, Let us make Man:* Then he calls his Sonne to him, and sends him into the world to suffer death, the death of the Crosse for our salvation: And he calls the Holy Ghost to him, and sends him to teach us all truth, and apply that which Christ suffered for our souls, to our souls. God leaves the Nations, the Gentiles, under the *non locutus est;* he speaks not at all to them, but in the speechless creatures: He leaves the Jewes under the *locutus est,* under the killing letter of the Law, and their stubborn perverting thereof: And he comes to us, *sicut locutus est,* in manifesting to us that our Messias, Christ Jesus, is come, and come according to the promise of God, and the foretelling of all his Prophets; for that is our safe anchorage in all storms, that our Gospel is *in sermone,* that all things are done, so as God had foretold they should be done; that we have infallible marks given us before, by which we may try all that is done after.

All the word of God then conduces to the Gospel; the Old Testament is a preparation and a pædagogie to the New. All the word belongs to the Gospell, and all the Gospell is in the word; nothing is to be obtruded to our faith as necessary to salvation, except it be rooted in the Word. And as the *locutus est,* that is, the promises that God hath made to us in the Old Testament; and the *sicut locutus est,* that is, the accomplishing of those promises to us in the New-Testament, are thus applyable to us; so is this especially, *Quod adhuc loquitur,* that God continues his speech, and speaks to us every day; still we must hear *Evangelium in sermone,* the Gospel in the Word, in the Word so as we may hear it, that is, the Word preached; for howsoever it be Gospel in it self, it is not Gospel to us if it be not preached in the Congregation; neither, though it be preached to the Congregation, is it Gospel to me, except I find it work upon my understanding and my

faith, and my conscience: A man may believe that there shall be a Redeemer, and he may give an Historicall assent, that there hath been a Redeemer, that that Redeemer is come, he may have heard *utrumque sermonem,* both Gods wayes of speaking, both his voices, both his languages, his promises in the Old Testament, his performances in the New Testament, and yet not hear him speak to his own soul: *Ferme Apostoli plus laborarunt,* says S. *Chrysostom,* It cost the Apostles, and their Successors, the preachers of the Gospell, more paines and more labour, *ut persuaderent hominibus, dona Dei iis indulta,* To perswade men that this mercy of God, and these merits of Christ Jesus were intended to them, and directed upon them, in particular, then to perswade them that such things were done: they can beleeve the promise, and the performance in the generall, but they cannot finde the application thereof in particular; the voice that is neerest us we least heare, not because God speaks not loud enough, but because we stop our eares; nor that neyther; for wee doe hear, but because we do not hearken then, nor consider; no nor that neyther, but because we doe not answere, nor cooperate, nor assist God, in doing that which he hath made us able to doe by his grace, towards our own Salvation. For (not to judge *De iis qui foris sunt,* of those whom God hath left (for any thing we know) in the darke, and without meanes of Salvation, because without manifestation of Christ) we are Christians incorporated in Christ in his Church; and thereby, by that Title, we have a new Creation, and are new creatures; and as wee shall have a new Jerusalem hereafter, so we have a new Paradise already, which is the Christian Church. In this Paradise saith St. *Augustine, Quatuor Evangelia ligna fructifera;* In the books of the Gospell, as they grow, and as they are supplicated in the Church, growes every Tree pleasant for the sight, and good for meat: And there, sayes that Father, *lignum vitæ Christus,* Christ Jesus himself (as he is taught hee that gives life to all our actions; and even so our faith it self, which faith qualifies and dignifies those actions: And then, sayes from the Scriptures, in the Church) is the Tree of Life, for it is he, As Christ alone, in this Paradise, that is, the Christian Church, is this Tree of life, so *lignum scientiæ boni & mali,* The Tree of knowledg of Good and Evill, is *Proprium voluntatis arbitrium,* the good use of our own Will, after God hath enlightned us in this Paradise, in the Christian Church, and

so restor'd our dead will again, by his Grace precedent and subsequent, and concommitant: for, without such Grace and such succession of Grace, our Will is so far unable to pre-dispose it selfe to any good, as that *nec seipso, homo, nisi perniciose uti potest* (sayes he still) we have no interest in our selves, no power to doe any thing of, or with our selves, but to our destruction. Miserable man! a Toad is a bag of Poyson, and a Spider is a blister of Poyson, and yet a Toad and a Spider cannot poyson themselves; Man hath a dram of poyson, originall-Sin, in an invisible corner, we know not where, and he cannot choose but poyson himselfe and all his actions with that; we are so far from being able to begin without Grace, as then where we have the first Grace, we cannot proceed to the use of that, without more. But yet, sayes Saint *Augustine;* The Will of a Christian so rectified and so assisted, is *lignum scientiæ,* the Tree of knowledge, and he shall be the worse for knowing, if he live not according to that knowledg; we were all wrapped up in the first *Adam,* all Mankind; and we are wrapped up in the second *Adam,* in Christ, all Mankinde too; but not in both alike; for we are so in the first *Adam,* as that we inherit death from him, and incurre death whether we will or no; before any consent of ours be actually given to any Sin, we are the children of wrath, and of death; but we are not so in the second *Adam,* as that we are made possessors of eternall life, without the concurrence of our own Will; not that our will payes one penny towards this purchase, but our own will may forfeit it; it cannot adopt us, but it may disinherit us. Now, by being planted in this Paradise, and received into the Christian Church, we are the adopted sons of God, and therefore, as it is in Christ, who is the naturall Son of God, *Qui non nascitur & desinit,* as *Origen* expresses it, He was not born once and no more, but hath a continual, because an eternall generation, and is as much begotten to day, as he was 100. 1000. 1000 millions of generations passed; so since we are the generation and of-spring of God, since Grace is our Father, that Parent that begets all goodness in us, *In similitudine ejus,* sayes *Origen,* conformable to the Pattern Christ himself, *Qui non nascitur & desinit,* who hath a continuall generation, *Generemur Domino per singulos intellectus, & singula opera,* in all the acts of our understanding, and in a ready concurrence of our Will, let us every day, every minute feele this new generation of spirituall

[1 Cor. 15.22]

children; for it is a miserable short life, to have been borne when the glasse was turned, and dyed before it was run out: to have conceived some good Motions at the beginning, and to have given over all purpose of practise at the end of a Sermon. Let us present our own will as a mother to the father of light, and the father of life, and the father of love, that we may be willing to conceive by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, and not resist his working upon our Soules; but with the obedience of the blessed Virgin, may say, *Ecce ancilla,* Behold the servant of the Lord, *fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum,* Be it done unto me according to thy Word; I will not stop mine eares to thy Word, my heart shall not doubt of thy word, my life shall expresse my having heard and harkened to thy word, that word which is the Gospell, that Gospell which is peace to my Conscience, and reconciliation to my God, and Salvation to my Soul; for, hearing is but the conception, meditation is but the quickning, purposing is but the birth, but practising is the growth of this blessed childe.

[Luke 1.38]

Fidelis The Gospell then, that which is the Gospell to thee, that is, the assurance of the peace of Conscience, is grounded *in sermone,* upon the word; not upon imaginations of thine owne, not upon fancies of others, nor pretended inspirations, nor obtruded Miracles, but upon the word; and not upon a suspicious and questionable, not upon an uncertain or variable word, but upon this, that is *fidelis sermo, This is a faithfull saying.* It is true, that this Apostle seemes to use this phrase of speech, as an earnest asseveration, and a band for divers truths in other places: He saies sometimes, *This is a true saying,* and *This is a faithfull saying,* when he does not meane, that it is the word of God, but only intends to induce a morall certitude, when he would have good credit to be given to that which followes, he uses to say so, *fidelis sermo,* it is a true, *it is a faithfull saying:* But in all those other places where he uses this phrase, he speaks only of some particular duties, or of some particular point of Religion; but here he speaks of the whole body of Divinity, of the whole Gospell, *That Christ is come to save Sinners,* and therefore more may be intended by this phrase here, then in other places: When hee speaks of that particular point, *The Resurrection,* he uses this phrase, *It is a true saying; If we be dead with him we shall also live with him;* when he would invite men to godlinesse, even by the rewards which accompany it in this

2 Tim. 2.11

life, he uses this addition, this confirmation, *For this is a true saying,* 1 Tim. 4.9
and worthy to bee received; when he gives a dignity to the function
and office of the Ministery, he proposes it so, *It is a true saying; If any* 1 Tim. 3.1
man desire the Office of a Bishop, he desireth a good worke; it is a
worke, not an occasion and oportunity of ease. And lastly, when he
provokes men to glorify God, by good works, he labors to be beleeved,
by the same phrase still, *This is a true saying,* and these things I would
thou shouldst affirme, *That they which have beleeved in God, might* Tit. 3.8
be carefull to shew forth good works. Till he have found faith, and
beleefe in God, he never calls upon good works, he never calls them
good; but when we have Faith, he would not have us stop nor deter-
mine there, but proceed to works too. It is a phrase which the Apostle
does frequently, and almost proverbially use in these many places, but
in all these places, upon particular and lesser occasions; but here,
preparing the doctrine of the whole Gospell, this phrase admits a
larger extent, That as it is grounded upon the Word, that is, we must
have somthing to shew for it; so it is upon a faithfull word, upon that
which is cleerly, and without the encumbrance of disputation, the in-
fallible word of God; no traditionall word, no apocryphall word, but
the cleere and faithfull word. Now of all the attributes, of all the
qualities that can be ascribed to the word of God, this is most proper
to it selfe, and most available, and most comfortable to us, that it is
fidelis, a faithfull word; For, this being a word that hath principally
respect and relation to the fidelity of God, it implies necessarily a
Covenant, a Contract with us, which God hath bound himselfe faith-
fully to perform unto us; and therefore God calls his Covenant with
David by this name, *fideles misericordias David, An everlasting Cov-* Esai. 55.3
enant, even the sure mercies of David. And when the Prophet *Jeremy*
apprehended a feare that God would breake that Covenant which hee
had made with that Nation, which had broken with him, he expresses
that passion in a word, contrary to this, and imputes out of his hasty
feare, even infidelity to God, *Why art thou unto mee* (sayes hee there) [Jer. 15.18]
as a Lyar, & sicut aquæ infideles, as unfaithfull water, that I cannot
trust to; or *Aquæ mendaces,* as it is in the Originall, lying waters,
deceitfull waters, that promise a continuance and doe not perform it?
Why dost thou pretend to make a Covenant with thy people and wilt
not perform it faithfully? Most of Gods other attributes are accom-

panied with this in the Scriptures, whatsoever God is called besides,
Deut. 7[8.]9 he is called *fidelis,* faithfull too. In one place he is *fortis & fidelis,* he is powerfull; but if he turne his power vindicatively upon me, I were better if he were lesse powerfull; but he hath made a Covenant with me, that he will turn his power upon those whom he hath called his Enemies, because they are mine, and therein lies my comfort, that he
Esay. 49.7 is a powerfull and a faithfull God. In another place, he is *fidelis & sanctus;* he is a holy God; but if he be so, and but so, how shall I, who am unholy, stand in his sight? He hath made a Covenant with me, that as they who look'd upon the Serpent in the Wildernesse, shed and cast out the venom of that serpent who had stung them before; so when I looke faithfully upon my Saviour, all my unholinesse falls off as rags, and I shall be invested in his Righteousnesse, in his Holynesse; and so in that lies my comfort, that he is a Holy and a Faithfull God. Howsoever wee consider God in the Schools, in his other attributes, yet here is my University and my Chair, here I must take my Degree, in my Heart, in my Conscience; and this is that that brings God home, and applies him close to me, that he is *fidelis,* a faithfull God; that in his mercy he hath made a Covenant with us, and in his faithfulnesse hee will performe it. And therefore consider God in his
1 Pet. 4.19 first great worke, his Creation, so he is *fidelis Creator,* let them that suffer according to the will of God, commit their Souls to him in well doing, as unto a faithfull Creator. He had gracious purposes upon us in our Creation, and he is faithfull to his purposes; and so this faithfull God is God the Father. Consider God in his next great
Heb. 2.17 worke, the Redemption, and so he is *fidelis Pontifex,* a faithfull high-Priest, in things concerning God, that he might make reconciliation for the sins of the People; and so this faithfull God is God the Son.
Apocal. 1.5 Consider God in his continuance and dwelling in the Church, *usque ad consummationem,* till the end of the world, so he is *fidelis Testis,* He shall be evermore presenting to God, and testifying in our behalfe, the Covenant which he hath sealed to the Church in his blood, and testifying to our spirit, that that seale belongs unto us; and so this faithfull God is God the holy-Ghost; so that when we consider our Creation, we are not to consider a Creation to condemnation; God forbid: When we consider a Redemption, we are not to consider it exclusively, as not intended to us; God forbid: And when we con-

sider Gods presence and government in the Church, we are not to consider it in a Church whose dores are shut up against any of us, so as that we can have no Repentance, no absolution; God forbid: we are not to consider God in those Decrees, wherein we cannot consider him as *fidelem Deum;* In those Decrees, which are not revealed to us, we know not whether he be faithfull, or no; for we know not what his promise, what his purpose was: But as he hath manifested himself in his Word, as he hath made a conditionall contract with us, so as that if we performe our part, he will performe his, and not otherwise; so we may be sure that he is *fidelis Deus,* a God that will stand to his word, a God that will performe his promises faithfully; for, though it were meerly his Mercy, that made those promises, yet it is his fidelity, his Truth, his faithfulnesse, that binds him to the performance of them. *The faithfull word of God hath said it,* in the old-Testament, and in the New too; *Let God be true, and every man a Lyar.* The word of the man of Sinne, the God of *Rome,* is a ly; Pope *Stephen* abrogates all the Decrees of Pope *Formosus,* and so gives that ly to him: Next yeere Pope *Romanus* abrogates all his, and so gives that ly to him; and within seven yeers, *Servius* all his; and where was *fidelis sermo,* the faithfull word all this while? When they send forth Bulls and Dispensations to take effect occasionally, and upon emergencies; That *rebus sic stantibus,* If you finde matter in this State, this shall be Catholique Divinity; if not, then it shall be Heresie; where is this *fidelis sermo,* this faithfull word amongst them? If for the space of a 1500 yeers, the twelve Articles of the Apostles Creed might have sav'd any man, but since as many more, *Trent* Articles must be as necessary; still where is that *fidelis sermo,* that faithfull word which we may rely upon? God hath not bound himselfe, and therefore neither hath he bound us to any word but his own; In that only, and in all that wee shall bee sure to find him, *Fidelem Deum,* A faithfull God.

Psal. 33.4
Rom. 3.4

Acceptatio

Now the Truth and Faithfulnesse of the Word, consists not only in this, *quod verax,* that it is true in it selfe, but in this also, *quod testificatus,* that it is established by good testimony to be so. It is therefore faithfull because it is the word of God, and therefore also because it may be proved to be the word of God by humane testimonies; which is that which is especially intended in this clause, *Omni acceptatione dignus,*

It is worthy of all acceptation; worthy to bee received by our Faith, and by our Reason too: Our Reason tels us, that Gods will is revealed to Man somewhere, else man could not know how God would be worshipped; and our Reason tells us, that this is that Word in which that Will is revealed. And therefore the greatest part of the Latine-Fathers, particularly *Ambrose* and *Augustine,* read these words otherwise; not *fideliter,* no, but *Humanus sermo;* and so many Greek Copies have it too, That it is a speech which man, not as he is a faithfull man, but even as he is a reasonable man may comprehend: not as Saint *Hierom* will needs understand those words, *Si Humanus & non Divinus, non esset omni acceptatione dignus;* for that's undeniably true; if it came meerly from man, and not from God, it were not worthy to be received by faith; but as S. *Augustine* expresses that which himselfe and S. *Ambrose* meant, *sic Humanus & Divinus, quomodo Christus Deus & homo,* as Christ is God too, so as that he is Man too; so the Scriptures are from God so, as that they are from Man too: the Gospel is a faithfull word essentially, as it is the word of God, derived from him, and it is a faithfull word too, declaratively, as it is presented by such light and evidence of Reason, and such testimonies of the Church, as even the reason of Man cannot refuse it: So that the reason of man accepts the Gospell, first out of a generall notion, That the will of God must be revealed somewhere, and then he receives this for that Gospell, rather then the Alcoran of the Turks, rather then the Talmud of the Jewes, out of those infinite and cleere arguments which even his reason presents to him for that. And then, as when he compares Scripture with the booke of Creatures and Nature, he finds that evidence more forcible then the other; and when he finds this Scripture compared with other pretended Scriptures, Alcoran or Talmud, he finds it to be of infinite power above them; so when he comes to the true Scriptures, and compares the new-Testament with the Old, the Gospel with the Law, he finds this to be a performance of those promises, a fullfiling of those Prophecies, a revelation of those Types and Figures, and an accomplishment, and a possession of those hopes and those reversions; And when hee comes to that argument which works most forcibly, and most worthily upon man's reason, which is *Antiquissimum,* That's best in matter of Religion that was first, there he sees that the Gospell was

before the Law: This I say, sayes the Apostle, that the Law, which was four hundred thirty yeers after, cannot disannull the Covenant, which was confirmed of God in respect of Christ; so shall [it be] alwaies in respect of faith and in respect of Reason, *It is worthy of acceptation;* for, would thy Soule expatiate in that large contemplation of God in generall? It is *Evangelium Dei,* the Gospell of God: wouldst thou contract this God into a narrower and more discernable station? It is *Evangelium Jesu Christi,* the Gospel of Jesus Christ: wouldst thou draw it neerer to the consideration of the effects? It is *Evangelium pacis,* the Gospell of peace; wouldst thou consider it here? Here it is *Evangelium Regni,* the Gospell of the kingdom; wouldst thou consider it hereafter? It is *Evangelium æternum,* the eternall Gospell; wouldst thou see thy way by it? it is *Evangelium Gratiæ,* the Gospell of Grace; wouldst thou see the end of it? it is *Evangelium gloriæ,* the Gospel of glory: *It is worthy of all acceptation* from thee, for the Angels of heaven can preach no other Gospel, without being accursed themselves.

Gal. 3.17
Rom. 1.1
Mar. 1.1
Ephes. 6.15
Mar. 1.14
Revel. 14.6
Act. 20.24
1 Tim. 1.11
Gal. 1.[8]

But the best and fullest acceptation is that which we called at first an Approbation, to prove that thou hast accepted it by thy life and conversation: That as thy faith makes no staggering at it, nor thy Reason no argument against it, so thy actions may be arguments for it to others, to convince them that doe not, and confirme them that doe beleeve in it; for this word, which signifies in our ordinary use, the Gospell, *Evangelium,* was *verbum civile, verbum forense* a word of civill and secular use, before it was made Ecclesiasticall; and as it had before in civil use, so it retaines still, three significations: First it signified *Bonum nuntium,* a good and a gracious Message: And so, in spirituall use, it is the Message of God, who sent his Son; and it is the message of the Son, who sent the holy-Ghost. Secondly it signified *Donum offerenti datum,* the reward that was given to him that brought the good news: and so in our spirituall use, it is that spirituall tendernesse that Religious good nature of the Soule (as we may have leave to call it) that appliablenesse, that Ductilenesse, that holy credulity which you bring to the hearing of the word, and that respect which you give to Christ, in his Ministers, who brings this Gospell unto you. And then Thirdly, it signifies *Sacrificium Datori Immolatam,* the Sacrifice which was offered to that God who sent this

Approbatio

good Message; which in our spirituall use, is that which the Apostle exhorts the *Romans* to with the most earnestnesse, (and so doe I you)

Rom. 12.1 *I beseech you brethren by the mercies of God, that yee give up your Bodies a living Sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable serving of God:* Now a reasonable service is that which in reason we are bound to doe, and which in reason we thinke would most glorifie him, in contemplation of whom that service is done; and that is done especially, when by a holy and exemplar life, we draw others to the love and obedience of the same Gospell which we professe: for then have we declared this true and *faithfull saying,* this Gospell *to have been worthy of all acceptation,* when we have look'd upon it by our reason, embraced it by our Faith, and declared it by our good works; and all these considerations arose out of that which at the beginning we called *Radicem,* the Roote of this Gospell, the *Word,* the *Scripture.* The *Tree it self,* the *Body* of the *Gospell,* that is *The coming of Christ,* and the Reason of his coming, *To save Sinners;* And then the fruit of this Gospell, that *Humility,* by which the Apostle confesseth *himselfe to be the greatest Sinner,* we reserve for another exercise.

Number 9.

A Second Sermon Preached at White-hall. April 19. 1618.

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1 Tim. 1.15. *THIS IS A FAITHFULL SAYING, AND WORTHY OF ALL ACCEPTATION, THAT* CHRIST JESUS *CAME INTO THE WORLD TO SAVE SINNERS; OF WHICH I AM THE CHIEFEST.*

We have considered heretofore that which appertained to the Roote, and all the circumstances thereof. That which belongs to the *Tree it selfe,* what this *acceptable Gospell is, That Christ Jesus came into the World, to save Sinners;* and then, that which appertains to the fruit of this Gospell, the Humility of the Apostle, in applying it to himselfe, *Quorum ego, Of which Sinners I am the chiefest,* were reserved for this time. In the first of these, that which we call the Tree, the Body of this Gospell, there are three branches; first an *Advent,* A coming; and secondly, the *Person that came;* and Lastly, the *worke* for which he came. And in the first of these, we shall make these steps; First, that it is a new coming of a Person who was not here before, at least, not in that manner as he comes now, *venit,* He came; And Secondly, that this coming is in Act; not only in Decree, so he was come and slaine *ab initio,* from all eternity, in God's purpose of our Salvation; nor come only in promise, so he came wrapped up in the first promise of a Messiah, in Paradise, in that *ipse conteret, He shall bruise the Serpents head;* nor come only in the often renuing of that promise to *Abraham, in semine tuo, In thy seed shall all Nations be blessed,* nor only in the ratification and refreshing of that promise to *Judah, Donec Silo, Till Silo come;* and to *David, In Solio tuo, The Scepter shall not depart;* nor as he [Gen. 3.15] [Gen. 12.3; 22.18] [Gen.49.10] [Psal. 89.4]

[Isa. 7.14] [Micah 5.2] came in the Prophets, in *Isays virgo concipiet,* That he should come of a virgin, nor in *Michæas Et tu Bethlem,* That he should come out of that Towne; but this is a Historicall, not a Propheticall, an Actuall not a Promissary coming; it is a coming already executed; *venit,* he came, he is come. And then Thirdly, *venit in mundum, He came into the World,* into the whole World, so that his purpose first extends to all the Nations of the World, and then it shall extend to thee in particular, who art a part of this world; He is come into the world, and into thee. From hence, we shall descend to our second branch, to the considerations of the person that comes; and he is, first *Christus,* in which one name we find first his capacity to reconcile God and man, because he is a mixt person, uniting both in himself; and we find also his Commission to work this Reconciliation, because he is *Christus,* an annointed person, appointed by that unction, to that purpose; And thirdly, we find him to be Jesus, that is, actually a Saviour; that as we had first his capacity and his Commission in the name of Christ, so we might have the execution of this Commission in the name of Jesus. And then lastly, in the last branch of this part, we shall see the work it self, *Venit salvare,* He came to save; It is not *offerre,* to offer it to them whom he did intend it to, but he came [Deut. 34.4] really and truly to save; It was not to show a land of promise to *Moyses,* and then say, there it is, but thou shalt never come at it; It was not to shew us salvation, and then say there it is, in Baptism it is, in Preaching, and in the other Sacrament, it is; but soft, there is a Decree of predestination against thee, and thou shalt have none of it; But *venit salvare,* He came to save; And whom? Sinners. Those, who the more they acknowledg themselves to be so, the nearer they are to this salvation.

Part 1 First then for the *Advent,* this comming of Christ, we have a Rule reasonable general in the school, *Missio in divinis est novo modo operatio,* Then is any person of the Trinity said to be sent, or to come, when they work in any place, or in any person in another manner or measure then they did before; yet that Rule doth not reach home, to the expressing of all commings of the persons of the Trinity: The second person came more presentially then so, more then in an extraordinary working and Energie, and execution of his power, if it be rightly apprehended by those Fathers, who in many of those An-

gels which appear'd to the Patriarcks, and whose service God us'd in delivering Israel out of *Egypt,* and in giving them the Law in *Sinai,* take the son of God himself to have been present, and many things to have been attributed to the Angels in those histories, which were done by the son of God, not only working, but present in that place, at that time. So also the Holy Ghost came more presentially then so, more then by an extraordinary extention of his power, when he came presentially and personally in the Dove, to seal *Johns* Baptism upon Christ. But yet, though those presential commings of Christ as an Angel in the old Testament, and this comming of the Holy Ghost in a Dove in the New, were more then ordinary commings, and more then extraordinary workings too, yet they were all far short of this comming of the son of God in this Text: for it could never be said properly in any of those cases, That that or that Angel, was the son of God, the second person, or that that Dove was the Holy Ghost, or the third person of the Trinity; but in this *Advent,* which we have in hand here, it is truly and properly said, this man is God, this son of *Mary* is the son of God, this Carpenters son, is that very God that made the world. He came so to us, as that he became us, not only by a new and more powerful working in us, but by assuming our nature upon himself.

It is a perplex't question in the School, (and truly the Balance in those of the middle age, very even) whether if *Adam* had not sinned, the son of God had come into the world, and taken our nature and our flesh upon him. Out of the infinite testimonies of the abundant love of God to man many concluded, that howsoever, though *Adam* had not sinned, God would have dignified the nature of man in the highest degree, that that nature was any ways capable of: and since it appears now, (because that hath been done) that the nature of man was capable of such assuming, by the Son of God, they argue, that God would have done this though *Adam* had not sinn'd. He had not come, say they, *ut medicus,* if man had not contracted that infectious sickness by *Adams* sin; Christ had not come in the nature of a Physitian, to recover him; *non ut Redemptor* say they, If man had not forfeited his interest and state in heaven by *Adams* sin; Christ had not come in the nature of a Redeemer, but *ut frater, ut Dominus, ad nobilitandum genus humanus,* out of a brotherly love, and out of

a royal favour, to exalt that nature which he did love, and to impart and convey to us a greater and nobler state, then we had in our Creation: in such a respect, and to such a purpose, he should have come. But since they themselves who follow that opinion come to say, That that is the more subtle opinion, and the more agreable to mans reason, (because man willingly embraces, and pursues any thing that conduces to the dignifying of his own nature) but that the other opinion, that Christ had not come, if our sins had not occasioned his comming, is *magis conformis scripturis & magis honorat Deum,* is more agreable to the Scriptures, and derives more honor upon God: we cannot err, if we keep with the Scriptures, and in the way that leads to Gods glory, and so say with St. *Augustine, Si homo non periisset, filius hominis non venisset,* If man could have been sav'd otherwise, the son of God had not come in this manner: or if that may be interpreted of his comming to suffer only, we may enlarge it with *Leo, Creatura non fieret qui Creator mundi,* He who was Creator of the world, had never become a Creature in the world, if our sins had not drawn him to it. It is usefully said by *Aquinas, Deus ordinavit futura, ut futura erant:* God hath appointed all future things to be, but to be so as they are, that is, necessary things necessarily, and contingent things contingently; absolute things absolutely, and conditional things conditionally; He hath decreed my salvation, but that salvation in Christ; He had decreed Christs comming into this world, but a comming to save sinners. And therefore it is a frivolous interogatory, a lost question, an impertinent article, to enquire what God would have done if *Adam* had stood. But *Adam* is fallen, and we in him; and therefore though we may piously wish with St. *Augustine, utinam non fuisset miseria ne iste misericordia esset necessaria,* I would man had not been so miserable, as to put God to this way of mercy; yet since our sins had induced this misery upon us, and this necessity (if we may so say) upon God, let us change all our disputation into thanksgiving, and all our *utrums,* and *quæres,* and *quando's* of the school, to the *Benedictus,* and *Alelujahs* and *Osanna's* of the Church; Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who hath visited and redeemed his people; blessed that he would come at all, which was our first, and blessed that he is come already, which is our second consideration; *venit,* He came, He is come.

As in the former branch the Gentils the Heathens are our adversaries, they deny the *veniet,* that a Messias is to come at all; so in this, the Jews are our enemies, they confess the *veniet,* a future comming, but they deny the *venit,* that this Messias is come yet. In that language in which God spoke to man there is such an assurance intimated, that whatsoever God promises shall be performed; that in that language ordinarily in the Prophets, the times are confounded, and when God is intended to purpose or to promise any thing in the future, it is very often expressed in the time past; that which God means to do, he is said to have done; future, and present, and past is all one with God: But yet to man it is much more, that Christ is come, then that he would come; not but that they who apprehended faithfully his future comming, had the same salvation as we, but they could not so easily apprehend it as we: God did not present so many handles to take hold of him in that promise, that he would come, as in the performance, that he was come. They had most of these handles that liv'd with him, and saw him, and heard him; but we that come after, have more then they which were before them, we have more in the history then they had in the Prophets. *Venit*

It was time for him to come in the beginning of the world, for the Devil was a murderer from the beginning. As the Devil was *felo de se,* a murderer of himself; as he killed himself Christ gave him over; he never came to him in that line, he never pardoned him that sin: but as he practis'd upon man, Christ met with him from the beginning: He sav'd us from his killing, by dying himself for us; for being dead, and having taken us into his wounds, and being risen, and having taken us into his glory; if we be dead in Christ already, the Devil cannot kill us, if we be risen in Christ the Devil cannot hold us: And so he was *Agnus occisus ab origine mundi,* the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world, that is, as soon as the world had any beginning in the purpose of God. God saw from all eternity that man would need Christ, and as soon as there was conceiv'd an *ego occido,* I will kill, in the Devils mouth, then was an *ego vivificabo,* I will raise from death, in Gods mouth; and so there was an early comming from all eternity; for he is the Ruler of Israel, saies the Prophet, and his goings forth have been from the beginning, and from everlasting: it is goings in the plural; Christ hath divers goings Joh. 8.44 Mich. 5.2

forth, divers commings, and all from the beginning; not only from
[Gen. 1.1] *Moses* his *In principio,* which was the beginning of the Creation, (for then also Christ came in the promise of a Messiah) but from St. *Johns*
[Joh. 1.1] *In principio,* that beginning which was without beginning, the eternal beginning, for there Christ came in that eternal decree, that he
Esa. 4.2 should come. Neither is this only as he is *Germen Jehovæ,* the bud of Jehovah, issuing from him as his eternal Son, but as the Prophet *Michæas* saies in that place, cited before, it is, as he shall come out of *Bethlem,* and as he shall be a Ruler of Israel: so as he came in our humane nature, as he came to dye for us, as he came to establish a
Church, so his comming is from all eternity, for all this was wrapped up in a decree of his coming: And therefore we are not carried upon the consideration of any decree, or of any means of salvation higher or precedent to the comming of Christ, for that were to antidate eternity it self.

So then this coming in the Text, is the execution of that coming in the decree, which is involv'd in St. *Johns In principio,* and it is the performance of that coming, which was enwrapped in the promise, in *Moses In principio,* it is his actual coming in our flesh: that com-
10.24 ing of which Christ said in St. *Luke* many Prophets and Kings, and
13.17 in St. *Matthew* many Prophets and righteous men, desired to see these things which you see, and have not seen them: the prophets who in their very name were *videntes,* seeing, saw not this comming
Joh. 8.56 thus; *your Father Abraham, rejoyced to see my day,* saith Christ, *and he saw it, and was glad.* All times and all Generations before time was were Christs day; but yet he cals this coming in the flesh especially his day, because this day was a holy Equinoctial, and made the day of the Jews and the day of the Gentiles equal; and *Testamenta copulat,* saies St. *Chrysostome,* it binds up the two Testaments into one Bible; for if the Patriarks had not desired to see this day,
and had not seen it in the strength of faith, they and we had not been
2 Pet. 1.19 of one communion. We have a most sure word of the Prophet, saies the Apostle, and to that we do well that we take heed; but how far? *As unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and*
1 Joh. 1.2 *the day star arise in your hearts.* But now since this coming, *This light hath appeared, and we have seen it, and bear witness and shew it unto you. Simeon* had an assurance in the Prophets, and more imme-

diatly then so in the vision; but herein was his assurance and his peace established, *Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.* The kingdom of Heaven was but a reversion to them, and it is no more to us; but to them it was a reversion, as after a Grandfather, and father; two lives, two comings of Christ before they would come to their state; Christ must come first in the flesh, and he must come again to Judgment. To us, and in our case one of these lives is spent; Christ is come in the flesh: and therefore as the earth is warmer an hour after the sun sets, then it was an hour before the sun rose, so let our faith and zeal be warmer now after Christs departing out of this world, then theirs was before his coming into it: and let us so rejoyce at this *Ecce venit Rex tuus,* that our King our Messias is already come, as that we may cherefully say, *veni Domine Jesu,* come Lord Jesu come quickly, and be glad if at the going out of these dores, we might meet him coming in the clouds.

Luk. 2.29

[Zech. 9.9]

[Apoc. 22.20]

Thus far then he hath proceeded already, *venit* He came, and *venit in mundum,* He came into the world; it is not *in mundam,* into so clean a woman as had no sin at all, none contracted from her Parents, no original sin; for so Christ had placed his favours and his honors ill, if he had favoured her most who had no need of him: to dye for all the world, and not for his mother, or to dye for her, when she needed not that hell, is a strange imagination: she was not without sin; for then why should she have died? for even a natural death in all that come by natural generation, is of sin: But certainly as she was a vessel reserved to receive Christ Jesus, so she was preserved according to the best capacity of that nature, from great and infectious sins. *Mary Magdalen* was a holy vessel after Christ had thrown the Divel out of her; the Virgin *Mary* was much more so, into whom no reigning power of the Devil ever entred; in such an acceptation then Christ came *per mundam in mundum,* by a clean woman into an unclean world. And he came in a purpose, (as we do piously believe) to manifest himself in the Christian Religion to all the nations of the world; and therefore, *lætentur Insulæ,* saies *David, The Lord reigneth let the Islands rejoyce,* the Islands who by reason of their situation, provision and trading, have most means of conveying Christ Jesus over the world. He hath carried us up to heaven and set us at the right

In Mundum

[Psa. 97.1]

hand of God, and shal not we endeavour to carry him to those nations, who have not yet heard of his name? shall we still brag that we have brought our clothes, and our hatchets, and our knives, and bread to this and this value and estimation amongst those poor ignorant Souls, and shall we never glory that we have brought the name, and Religion of Christ Jesus in estimation amongst them? shall we stay till other nations have planted a fals Christ among them? and then either continue in our sloth, or take more pains in rooting out a false Christ then would have planted the true? Christ is come into the world; we will do little, if we will not ferry him over, and propagate his name, as well as our own to other Nations.

In te At least be sure that he is so far come into the world, as that he be come into thee. Thou art but a little world, a world but of a few spanns in length; and yet Christ was sooner carried from east to west, from *Jerusalem* to these parts, then thou canst carry him over the faculties of thy Soul and Body; He hath been in a pilgrimage towards thee long, coming towards thee, perchance 50, perchance 60 years; and how far is he got into thee yet? Is he yet come to thine eyes? [Job 31.1] Have they made *Jobs* Covenant, that they will not look upon a Maid; yet he is not come into thine ear? still thou hast an itching ear, delighting in the libellous defamation of other men. Is he come to thine ear? Art thou rectified in that sense? yet voluptuousness in thy tast, or inordinateness in thy other senses keep him out in those. He is come into thy mouth, to thy tongue; but he is come thither as a diseased person is taken into a spittle to have his blood drawn, to have his flesh cauterized, to have his bones sawd; Christ Jesus is in thy mouth, but in such execrations, in such blasphemies, as would be Earthquaks to us if we were earth; but we are all stones, and rocks, obdurate in a senselesnes of those wounds which are inflicted upon our God. He may be come to the skirts, to the borders, to an outward show in thine actions, and yet not be come into the land, into thy heart. He entred into thee, at baptism; He hath crept farther and farther into thee, in catechisms and other infusions of his doctrine into thee; He hath pierced into thee deeper by the powerful threatnings of his Judgments, in the mouths of his messengers; He hath made some survey over thee, in bringing thee to call thy self to an account of some sinful actions; and yet Christ is not come into thee;

either thou makest some new discoveries, and fallest into some new ways of sin; and art loth that Christ should come thither yet, that he should trouble thy conscience in that sin, till thou hadst made some convenient profit of it; thou hast studied and must gain, thou hast bought and must sell, and therefore art loth to be troubled yet; or else thou hast some land in thee, which thou thy self hast never discover'd, some waies of sin which thou hast never apprehended, nor considered to be sin; and thither Christ is not come yet: He is not come into thee with that comfort which belongs to his coming in this
290 Text, except he have overshadowed thee all, and be in thee intirely.

We have done with his coming; we come next to the person; in Person
which we consider first, that he was capable of this great employment to reconcile God to man, as he was a mixt person of God and man; and then, that he had a Commission for this service, as he was *Christus,* anointed, seald to that office; and then, that he did actually execute this commission, as he was Jesus. Now when we consider his capacity and fitness to save the world, this capacity and fitness must have relation to that way, which God had chosen; which was by Justice. For God could have saved the world by his word, as well as
300 he had made it so. *Adetur venia* now had bin as easie to him, as a *fiat lux* at the beginning; a general pardon and a light of grace, as easie as the spreading of the light of nature. But God having purposed to himself the way of Justice, then could none be capable of that imployment but a mixt person; for God could not dye, nor man could not satisfie by death; and both these were required in the way of Justice, a satisfaction and that by death. Now as this unexpressible *Christus*
mixture and union of God and man made him capable of this imployment, so he had a particular Commission for it, implyed in the same name too; for every capable person is not alwaies imployed;
310 and this was his unction as he is *Christus,* anointed, severd, sealed for that purpose, for that office. Now whether this unction, that is, this power, to satisfie Gods Justice for all the sins of all mankind, were *ex ratione sua formali intrinsica,* that is, whether the merit of Christ were therefore infinite in it self, because an infinite Godhead resided in his person, or whether this power and ability, by one act to satisfie for all sins arose *ex pacto & acceptatione,* by the contract that had past between the Father and Him, that it was so because it was cove-

nanted between them that it should be so; this hath divided the School into that great opposition which is well known by the name of *Thomists* and *Scotists*. The safest way is to place it *in pacto,* in the contract, in the covenant; for if we place it absolutely in the person, and cause the infiniteness of the merit from that, then any act of that person, the very incarnation it self had been enough to save us; but his unction, his Commission was to proceed thus and thus, and no otherwise then he did in the work of our Redemption. His unction was his qualification; He was anointed with the oyle of gladness above his fellows, else the season of his enduring the cross, could not have been joy: He was anointed liberally by that woman, when he himself was sold for 30 peeces of silver, beyond the value of 300 peeces in oyntment upon him: He was honorably embalmed by *Joseph,* and *Nicodemus,* who brought an 100 pound weight of Myrrhe and Aloes to bury him: every way anointed more then others, by others. All his garments smell of Myrrhe, and Aloes, and Cassia, as it is in the *Canticles;* even in the garments of Religion, the Ceremonies of the Church, there is a sweet savour of life: *Oleum effusum nomen ejus,* even in the outward profession of the name of Christ there is a savour of life, an assistance to salvation; for even in taking upon us this name Christ, we acknowledg, both that he was able to reconcile, and sent purposely to reconcile God and man.

Ps. 45.7

Mar. 14.3

Joh. 19.[39 and 40]

[Cant. 4.11, 12, and 14]

[2 Cor. 2.15 and 16; James 5.14]

Jesus But then, the strength of our consolation lies in the other name; as he was Jesus, actually he executed that Commission, to which, as he was Christ he was fitted and anointed. Now this is a name, which though the Greeks have translated it into *soter,* yet the great Master of Latine language, *Cicero,* professes that there is no word, which expresses it; and that great Minter of Latine words *Tertullian* doth so often call by the name of *salutificator:* for Jesus is so; not only a bringer, an applier, a worker of our salvation, but he is the author of the very decree of our salvation, as well as of the execution of that Decree: there was no salvation before him, there was no salvation intended in the book of Life, but in him; yea, no Grammarian can clear it, whether this name Jesus signifie *salvatorem* or *salutem,* the Instrument that saves us, or the salvation that is afforded us; for it is not only his person, but it is his very righteousness that saves us. It was therefore upon that ground that this name was given him, *thou shalt*

Matth. 1.21

call his name Jesus, saies the Angel at his conception: why? *for he shall save his people from their sins:* not only that he shall be able to do it, nor only that he shall be sent to do it: so far he is but *Christus* a mixt person, and an anointed person; but he shall actually do it, and so he is Jesus. Names of children are not alwaies answered in their manners, and in the effects: *Non omnes Joannes qui vocantur Joannes,* saies St. *Chrysostom,* every nominal *John* is not a real *John: Absolons* name was *Patris pax,* his Fathers peace, but he was his Fathers affliction; but the name of Jesus had the effect, He was called a Saviour, and he was one.

It may seem strange that when St. *Matthew* saies, That *Mary* was to bring forth a child and call his name Jesus, He saies also that this was done that the Prophecy of *Esai* might be fulfilled, who said, That a virgin shall bring forth a child, and who shalbe called *Emanuel;* to fulfil a prophecy, of being called *Emanuel,* he must be called Jesus. Indeed, to be Jesus is a fulfilling of his being *Emanuel: Emanuel* is God with us, a mixt person, God and man; but Jesus is a Saviour the performer of that salvation, which only he who was God and man could accomplish. He was *Emanuel,* as soon as he was conceived, but not Jesus till he began to submit himself to the Law for us; which was first in his circumcision, when he took the name of Jesus, and began to shed some drops of blood for us. The name of Jesus was no new name when he took it; we find some of that name in the Scriptures, and in *Josephus,* we find one officer, that was his enemy, and another a great robber, who lighted upon *Josephus* more then once, of that name. And yet the Prophet *Esai* saies of Christ, (and St. *Cyril* interprets those words of this particular man Jesus) *thou shalt be called by a new name, which the mouth of the Lord shal name:* And how was this a new name, by which so many had been called before? The newness was not in that, that none other had had that name, but that the Son of God, had not that name, till he began to execute the office of a Saviour. He was called *Germen Jehovæ,* the bud of Jehova, before; and he was called the Counselor, and the wonderful, and the Prince of peace, by the same Prophet. But it is the observation of *Origen,* and of *Lactantius* after, (and it appears in the text it self) That *Moses* never cals *Oshea* the son of *Nun, Joshuah,* (which is the very name of Jesus) till he was made General, to deliver and save his people; so

1.21

62.2

Esa. 4.2
[Esa.] 9.[6]

Num. 13.16.
[16 : 17 *F* as in *Vulg.*]

what names soever were attributed to the Son of God before, the name of Jesus was a new name, to him then, when he began the work of salvation in his circumcision. Take hold therefore of his name *Emanuel,* as God is with us, as there is a person fit to reconcile God and man; and take hold of him as he is *Christus,* a person sealed and anointed for that reconciliation: But above all, be sure of thy hold upon the name Jesus thy Saviour. This was his name, when he was
[Luke 2.21] carried to the Altar to circumcision, and this was his name when he
[Joh. 19.19] carried his Altar the Cross; this was his stile there, *Jesus Nazarenus,* Jesus of Nazareth: and in the virtue of that name, he shall give thee a circumcised heart, and circumcised lips in the course of thy life; and
[Joh. 19.30] in the virtue of that name he shall give thee a joyful *consummatum est,* when thou comest to finish all upon thy last Altar, thy death-bed.

Servare Now from this consideration of the person, so far as arose out of his several names, we pass to his action, He was able to redeem man, He was sent to redeem man, He did redeem man; How? *Servavit,* He came to save. And here also is that word, which as we said before, is above expressing; for the word which we content our selves with, To save, implies but a preserving from falling into ruine; but we were absolutely fal'n before. The word signifies *salutem dare, medici,* and it signifies *salutem esse;* and Christ is truly both, both the Physitian and the Physick. But how is it ministred? we see his method is in St.
9.13 *Matthew veni vocare,* I came to call: his way is a voice now, *vocat non cogit;* God doth but call us he does not constrain us, He does not drive
[Mat.23.37] us into a pound; He cals us as Birds do their young, and he would gather us as a Hen doth her Chickins. It is true there is a *Trahit,* but
Joh. 6.44 there is no *cogit; no man comes to me,* saies Christ, *except the Father draw him,* But, *non inviti trahimur, non inviti credimus,* saies St. *Augustine,* God draws no man against his will, no man believes in God against his will, *non adhibitur violentia sed voluntas exitatur,* saies the same Father, God only excites and exalts our will, but he does not force it: He makes use of that of the Poet, *Trahit sua quemque voluptas,* our carnal desires draw us, but this drawing is not a constraining; for then we should not be commanded to resist them, nor to fight against them, for no man will bid me do so against a Cannon
August. bullet that comes with an inevitable, and irresistible violence now, *habet sensus suas voluptates, & animus deseritur a suis?* shall our

carnal affections draw us, though they do not force us, and shall not Grace do the same office too? shall we still trust to such a power, or such a measure of that Grace, at last, as that we shall not be able to resist, but shall convert us whether we will or no, and never concur willingly with Gods present grace? *Draw me, and I will run after thee,* saies the Spouse: she was called before, now she awakens; and she does not say draw me, and so I shall be screwd up unto thee, and lay all upon the force of grace, but draw me and I will run; she promises an application and concurrence on her part. So then *venit salvare,* is *venit vocare,* He came to save by calling us, as an eloquent and a perswasive man draws his Auditory, but yet imprints no necessity upon the faculty of the will; so works Gods calling of us in his word. God expresses it fully in the Prophet, *I taught* Ephraim *to go;* we are not able to go, to rise, to move without him; But how did he teach him? I took them by their arms; God made use of their faculties, which faculties are the limbs of the Soul: so he enlightned their understanding, and he rectified their will; but still their understanding, and their will. I drew them saies God there; But how, and with what? *With cords of man* saies he, and with bands of love; *with the cords of man,* the voice of the Minister, and the power which Gods Ordinance hath infused into that, and with the band of love, that is, of the Gospel so proposed unto us: and as it is added there, *I took off the yoke from their jaws, and I laid meat before them:* God takes off our yoke, the weight of our sins, and the indisposition of our natural infirmities, and he laies meat before us, the Word and the Sacraments in his Church. So that his *venit salvare,* is *venit solvere; solvere,* that is, to pay our debt, in his death, and *solvere,* that is, to unty our bands, and by his grace to make our natural faculties, formerly bound up in a corrupt inhability, to do so, now able to concurre with him, and cooperate to good actions. He prepared and he prescribed this physick for man, when he was upon earth; *etiam cum occideretur medicus erat,* then when he died, he became our physitian; *medici sanguinem fundunt, ille de ipso sanguine medicamenta facit:* other Physitians draw our blood, He makes physick of blood, and of his own blood. So he came to save, in preparing and prescribing, and he came to save in applying, when by the preaching of his word, *Joseph* who is in the well, and *Jeremy* who is in the Dungeon, do as much as they can, for

Cant. 1.4

August.

[Gen. 37.23, 24, and 28]

[Jer. 38.10–13]

the tying and fitting of that rope which is offered and let down to them, to draw them. God saves us by a calling, and he saves us by drawing; but he cals them that hearken to him, and he draws them that follow upon his drawing; He saves us who acknowledg that we could not be saved without him, and desire, and that with a faithful assurance to be saved by him; which is that which is intended in the next word, *peccatores,* he came to save sinners.

Peccatores [Mat. 9.13; Mark 2.17; Luke 5.32] Rom. 3.23

He came not to call the righteous, but sinners: Is that intended of all effectually? all have sinned, and all are deprived of the glory of God; But sinners here are those sinners, who acknowledg themselves to be sinners; for saies he, I came to call them to repentance: and that's the meaning of that exclusion of the righteous; He came *not to call the Righteous;* not to call them who call themselves Righteous, and thought themselves so, but sinners; not all whom he knew to be sinners, but all who would be brought to know themselves to be so. Them he came to call by the power of Miracles when he lived upon earth, and them he staies to call by the power of his word, now he is ascended into heaven; for as a furnace needs not the same measure and proportion of fire to keep it boiling, as it did to heat it; but yet it doth need the same fire, that is, fire of the same nature, (for the heat of the Sun will not keep it boiling how hot soever,) so the Church of God needs not miracles now it is established; but still there is the same fire, the working of the same spirit to save sinners: for that was the end of miracles, and it is the end of preaching, to make men capable of salvation by acknowledging themselves to be sinners. And this hath brought us to the last part of this text, that which at first we called the fruit of the Gospel, Humility.

Third part

This brought St. *Paul* to be of that *Quorum, Quorum ego maximus,* not only to discern and confess himself to be a sinner, but the cheifest and greatest sinner of all. *Nihil humilitate sublimius;* it is excellently, but strangely said by St. *Hierome;* He might rather and more credibly have us'd any word then that: He might have been easily believed if he had said, *nihil sapientius,* there is no wiser thing then humility, for he that is low in his own, shall be high in the eyes of others; and to have said *nihil perfectius,* there is not so direct a way to perfection as humility: But *nihil sublimius,* must needs seem strangely said, there is nothing higher then lowness; no such exaltation as dejection; no

such revenge as patience; and yet all this is truly and safely said, with that limitation which St. *Hierome* gives it there, *apud Deum,* in the sight of God, there is no such exaltation as humiliation. We must not coast and cross the nearest way, and so think to meet Christ in his end, which was glory, but we must go after him in all his steps, in the way of humiliation; for Christs very descent was a degree of exaltation; and by that name he called his crucifying a lifting up, an exaltation. The Doctrine of this world goes for the most part otherwise; here we say, lay hold, upon something, get up one step; in all want of sufficiency, in all defection of friends, in all changes, yet the place which you hold will raise you to better. In the way to heaven, the lower you go, the nearer the highest and best end you are. *Duo nobis necessaria* saies St. *Augustine, Ut cognoscamus quales ad malum, quales ad bonum:* There are but two things necessary to us to know, how ill we are, and how good we may be; where nature hath left us, and whether Grace would carry us. And *Abraham,* (saies that Father) expresses this two fold knowledg, when he said to God, *Loquar ad Dominum, qui pulvis sum & cinis,* I know I am but dust and ashes, saies *Abraham,* and there is his first knowledg *Qualis ad malum,* how ill a condition naturally he is in: but then, *Loquar ad Dominum,* for all this, though I be but dust and ashes, I have access to my God, and may speak to him; ther's his improvement and his dignity. *Vere pulvis omnis homo,* saies he; truly every man is truly dust; for as dust is blown from one to another corner by the wind, and lies dead there till another wind remove it from that corner; so are we hurried from sin to sin, and have no motion in our selves, but as a new sin imprints it in us: so *vere pulvis,* for our disposition to evil we are truly dust; and *vere cinis,* we are truly dry ashes; for ashes produceth no seed of it self, nor gives growth to any seed that is cast into it; so we have no good in us naturally, neither can we nourish any good that is infus'd by God into us, except the same Grace that sow'd it, water it, and weed it, and cherish it, and foment it after. To know that we have no strength of our selves, and to know that we can lack none if we ask it of God, these are St. *Augustines* two Arts and Sciences, and this is the humility of the Gospel in general.

Gen. 18.[27]

To come to St. *Paul's* more particular expressing of his humility here, *Quorum ego primus,* of which sinners I am the cheifest, as it is

Quorum primus

true *veritas non nititur mendatio,* no truth needs the support or assistance of any lie, a man must not belie himself, nor accuse himself against his own conscience; so also, *Humilitas non nititur stupiditati,* An undiscerning stupidity is not humility, for humility it self implies and requires discretion, for humiliation is not precipitation: when the Devil inticed the Jesuit at his midnight studies, and the Jesuit rose and offered him his chair, because howsoever he were a Devil, yet he was his better; this was no regulated humility: and therefore this which St. *Paul* saies of himself, that he was the greatest sinner was true in his own heart, and true in a convenient sense, and so neither falsly nor inconsiderately spoken. How then was this true? As there is nothing so fantastical and so absurd, but that some Hereticks have held it Dogmatically; so *Aquinas* notes here, that there were Hereticks that held, that the very soul of *Adam* was by a long circuit and transmigration come at last into *Paul,* and so *Paul* was the same man (in his principal part, in the soul) as *Adam* was; and in that sense it was literally true that he said, he was *primus peccatorum* the first of all sinners, because he was the first man *Adam:* but this is an heretical fancy, and a Pythagorean bubble. Great Divines have refer'd this *Quorum ad salvandos,* that Christ came to save sinners; of which sinners that are saved, say they, S. *Paul* acknowledges himself to be the greatest; not the greatest sinner in the world, but the greatest of them upon whom the grace of God hath wrought effectually. St. *Augustines* interpretation is for one half thereof, for the negative part sake; *primus* saies he, *non tempore;* He saies he was the first sinner, but he does not mean the first that sinned, the first in time; but then for the affirmative part, which follows in *Augustine,* that he was *primus malignitate,* the first, the highest, the greatest sinner, why should we, or how can we charge the Apostle so heavily? Beloved, to maintain the truth of this which St. *Paul* saies, we need not say that it was materially true, that it was indeed so; it is enough to defend it from falshood, that it was formally true, that is, that it appeard to him to be true, and not out of a sodain and stupid inconsideration but deliberately: First, he respected his own natural disposition, and proclivity to great sins, and out of that evidence condemned himself: As when a man who professed an art of judging the disposition of a man by his face, had pronounced of *Socrates,* (whose virtue all the world admir'd)

that he was the most incontinent and licentious man, the greatest theif and extortioner of any man in the world; the people despis'd and scorned the Physiognomer and his art, and were ready to offer violence unto him: *Socrates* himself corrected their distemper again, and said, It is true that he saies, and his Judgment is well grounded, for by nature no man is more inclined to these vices then I am. And this disposition to the greatest sins, St. *Paul* knew in himself. He that hath these natural dispositions is likely to be the greatest sinner, except he have some strong assistance to restrain him: and then, he that hath the offer of such helps, and abuses them, is in a farther step of being the greatest sinner: And this also St. *Paul* had respect to now, that he had had a good and learned education, a good understanding of the law and the Prophets, a good mortification, by being of the strict sect of the Pharisees; and yet he had turned all the wrong way, and was therefore in this abuse of these manifold graces the greater sinner. He look'd farther then into his own nature, or into his resistance of asistances; he looked into those actions which these had produc'd in him, and there he saw his breathing of threatnings and slaughter against the Disciples of the Lord, his hunger and thirst of christian blood: and so saies St. *Augustine, Nemo acrior inter persecutores, ergo nemo prior inter peccatores,* as he found himself the greatest persecutor, so he condemns himself for the greatest sinner. But all these natural dispositions to great sins, negligences of helps offer'd, sinful actions produced out of these two, might be greater in many others, then in St. *Paul;* and it is likely, and it may be certain to us, that they were so; but it was not certain to him, he knew not so much ill by any other man, as by himself. Consider those words in the *Proverbs, Surely I am more foolish then any man, and have not the understanding of a man in me:* for though they be not the words of *Salomon,* yet they are the words of a Prophet, and a Prophet who surely was not really more foolish then any man, then in consideration of something which he found in himself, saies so: he that considers himself, shall find such degrees of sin, as that he cannot see that any man hath gone lower: Or if he have in some particular and notorious sin, yet *in quovis alio, quid occultum esse potest; quo nobis superior sit:* He that is fallen lower then thou in some sin, yet may be above thee in Grace; he may have done a greater sin, and yet not be the

[Acts 9.1]

30.2

August.

greater sinner: another hath killed a man, and thou hast not; thou mayst have drawn and drunk the blood of many by usury, by extortion, by oppression. Another in fury of intemperance, hath ravished and thou hast not; thou maist have corrupted many by thy deceitful solicitations; and then in thy self art as ill as the ravisher, and thou hast made them worse whom thou hast corrupted. Cast up thine own
Rom. 2.5 account, Inventary thine own goods; (for sin is the wealth of the sinner, and he treasures up the wrath of God) reckon thine own sins, and thou wilt find thy self rich in that wealth, and find thy self of that *Quorum,* that the highest place in that company and mystery of sinners belongs to thee.

Sum St. *Paul* does so here; yea then, when he saw his own case, and saw it by the light of the spirit of God; when he took knowledg that Christ was come, and had sav'd sinners, and had sav'd him; yet still he saies *sum primus,* still he remains in his accusation of himself that he was still the greatest sinner, because he remained still in his infirmity, and aptness to relapse into former sins. As long as we are, we are subject to be worse then we are; and those sins which we apprehend even with horror and amazement, when we hear that others have done them, we may come to do them with an earnestness, with a delight, with a defense, with a glory, if God leaves us to our selves. As long as that is true of us, *sum primus homo,* I am no better then the first man, then *Adam* was, (and none of us are in any proportion so good) that is true also, *Quorum primus sum ego,* I am still in a slippery state, and in an evident danger of being the greatest sinner. This is the conclusion for every humble christian, no man is a greater sinner then I was, and I am not sure but that I may fall to be worse then ever I was, except I husband and imploy the Talents of Gods Graces better then I have done.

Notes to the Sermons in Volume I

Notes to Sermon No. 1

LINE

4 First : first *F*

9 Redeemer . . . persecutions, : Redeemer, . . . persecutions *F*

20 Christians : christians *F*

28–29 as it is , : as yet is *F, Al*

NOTE. The MS probably read "as yt is."

35 where it . . . primarily : (where it . . . primarily) *F*

36 passions

NOTE. The plural is most unusual in reference to Christ; and perhaps Donne originally wrote "passion."

38–39 Christ, . . . take in passing, : Christ . . . take, in passing *F*

39 view, *F. corr.* : view; *F originally*

44 *Machar,* : *Machar F*

45 *re alia* : *reatia F, re atia Al*

61 *ḳinnan,* : *ḳinnan F*

62 *Frustra, F corr.* : *Frustra F originally*

74 tryal *F corr.* : tryal, *F originally*

81 *frustra* : *fructra F*

92 where there are given *Cities* : *where there are given Cities F*

93 *redemptore* : *redemptor F*

96 given, *If* : given, &c. *If F*

96 *possession,* : *possession F*

100 *Booz*

NOTE. Donne adopted here the spelling of the Vulgate.

104 word : world *F*

113 noun *Edd. conj.* : now *F* : word *Al*

113 *Casaph* : Casaph *F*

115 thoughts : thougths *F*

130 judgment, : judgment. *F*

138 *mg.* Prodigality *F corr.* : Prodigalty. *F originally*

146 self. : self, *F*

148 Law *Al* : Laws *F*

150 some things : somethings *F*

151 *Bonis* : *bonis F*

182 extremity; [punctuation from catchword on preceding page of *F*. Text of *F* reads "extremity?"]

188 opportunity : oppotunity *F*

195 repentance? : repentance. *F*

LINE

206 too : to *F*

216 allegiance : alleigance *F*

219 sale *Edd. conj.* : sute *F, Al*

221–222 NOTE. A phrase or line appears to be missing here, presumably after "are sold" (perhaps after "and to"). *Al* conjectures "both to even."

256 covetousness : coveteousness *F*

262 part : past *F*

268 *Deos* : *Deus F*

286 If : if *F*

296 It : it *F*

315 collect : collects *F*

349 NOTE. A phrase or line is apparently missing after "sin;" perhaps to the following effect: "sin, brought our Saviour Christ to," etc.

361–362 Dotals . . . Baculs *Edd. conj.* : Dutals . . . Bacus *F, Al* [*Al: "Qu. 'Abacus'"*]

370 enough : enongh *F*

380 instruments and engines, : instruments, and engines *F*

387 some time : sometime *F*

389 takes

NOTE. The adopted reading is taken from the appearance of this word as catchword on preceding page of *F*. The text of *F* reads, "Takes."

390–391 souls to him : souls: to him, *F*

392 between : betwen *F*

396 sayes : *sayes F*

396 *pretiose* : *pretiore F*

397 Son : Sone *F*

401 *Seba for thee* : *seba for the F*

402 *thee* : *the F*

403 *thee* : *the F*

404 *Because* : *because F*

405 *Redeemed* : *Redemed F*

408 been prodigall *F corr.* : bee nprodigall *F originally*

409 price : prise *F*

413 all : all: *F*

413 onely : onley *F*

424 or no : or, no *F*

LINE

428 his : is *F*
456 proceeds : proceds *F*
484 *in naturam* : in *naturam F*
485 expresses it: : expresses: it *F*
486 *a* : a *F*
509 St. : Ṣt: *F*
513 described: : described. *F*
515 those *Edd. conj.* : these *F, Al*
518 Redemption : Redemtion *F*
520 goods *Edd. conj.* : good *F, Al*
522 NOTE. The question mark after "bones" is doubtful. The corresponding phrase in the Bible is not a question. The matter is not, however, certain. Donne may have intended an interpretation of the phrase as a question—"(May I) touch his bones?"
528 that's : thats *F*
530 glasses . . . vanities *Edd. conj.* : glases . . . vanities *F corr.* : glasses . . . vanitys *F originally*
NOTE. The printed line on which these words appear in *F* is badly crowded. Presumably the correction of "vanitys" made it necessary to omit a letter elsewhere in the line.
532 him. : him, *F*
539 shouldst : shoudst *F*
550 *mg.* Joel 3.5. : Amos 3. *F*
554 Church and Church affaires there are, : Church, and Church affaires there are *F*
564 shed, : shed *F*
566 and : at *F*
569 NOTE. The punctuation of this part of the long sentence is somewhat confusing to a reader; but since it is rhetorically effective, and hence might well have been intentional, it is left unchanged.
577 Father : father *F*
578 The : Th *F*
579 *Casaph,* : *Casaph F*
584 Christ : Christ; *F*

Notes to Sermon No. 2

42 *Scripturam* : *Scriptura F*
69 *ruerunt* : *reverant F*

LINE

71 *digitis* : *digitus F*

92 anothers *F corr.* : another *F originally*

128 *voce* : *voco F*

144 NOTE. It is possible that "liberty" is mistyping or miscopying, and that the word should be "liberal." Since the point is far from certain, however, no change is made in the text.

217 is : is, *F*

226–227 *iron;* all . . . Maledictions, with which *Edd. conj.* : *iron;* with all . . . Maledictions, which *F, Al*

231 Judgements : judgements *F*

346 *Ingravatum* : *Ingratum F* [Cf. *Vulgate, Exod.* 9.7.]

358 *Christiani,* : *Christiani; F*

371 *ansis* : *ausis F*

399 door : door, *F*

447 *in morbo . . . in morbo* : in *morbo* . . . in *morbo F*

494 unintelligibleness : Inintelligibleness *F*
NOTE. The *N.E.D.* gives no example of the spelling "Inintelligibleness."

Notes to Sermon No. 3

text Lips : Lipps *F*

62 *Father* : *father F*

74 *Fathers* : *fathers F*

118 *Bishopricks* : *Bishropricks F*

125 *mg.* *Catharistæ* : *Catharsitæ F*

127 The *Cathari* : *The Cathari F*

140 *mg.* *ritib* : *citib F*

170 places : places, *F*

194 *and* : and *F*

198 have : *have F*

198–199 *The end . . . out of a pure heart* : The end . . . out of a pure heart *F*

201 *Having . . . in pure consciences* : Having . . . in pure consciences *F*

201 *mg.* 1 Tim. 3.9 : 3.8. *F*

208 That my : Thar my *F*

229 *mg.* Mat. 5.8. : Mat. 5.9. *F*

248 *till* : till *F*

LINE

259 *Ghost.)* : *Ghost*) *F*

263 ensnar'd.) : ensnar'd) *F*

264 *The* : (*The F*

264 *Hypocrite,* : *Hypocrite*) *F*

268 *What* : (*What F*

269 *soul;'* : *soul*) *F*

281 tyde, : tyde *F*

296 by what : bywhat *F*

337 forth *Al* : for the *F*

357 Fili : fili *F*

372 Enginier : Engineir *F*

NOTE. The spelling "Enginier" is possible for the early seventeenth century (cf. *N.E.D.*). That in *F* seems impossible.

396–397 NOTE. The italicizing of "touch," "it," and "dead" is puzzling, and may be accidental. Since, however, there is at least a possibility that the emphasis was intended by Donne, no change is here made in the text of *F*.

412 *up our sins in* : up *our sins* in *F*

478 little? : little. *F*

487 *in deed, or* : in *deed,* or *F*

588 *facie,* : *facie. F*

630 *mg.* Gen. 2.21. : Gen. 2.22. *F*

632 too, when : too. When *F*

655–692 NOTE. The use of italics in this passage concerning St. Jerome is on a rather complicated principle; but since on this principle the text of *F* is consistent, no attempt is here made to alter that text. The principle seems to be: (1) that the *initial* phrase of a quotation, whether Latin or English, be italicized; (2) that thereafter the English version of Jerome's words be considered the main quotation (in italics) and the Latin be considered subordinate to or explanatory of the English and hence printed in roman; (3) that proper names when occurring in italicized passages be printed in roman, and when occurring elsewhere be printed in italics.

660 Satanæ : satanæ *F*

714 wives *Edd. conj.* : wife *F, Al.*

NOTE. Both the context of this word and the source in *1 Kings* make it clear that the plural form must have been intended by the author.

LINE

721 *mg.* Judg. 16. 16. : Judg. 16.6. *F*

757 to : too *F*

823 *mg.* Psal. 119.105. : Psal. 119.104. *F*

879 *mg.* Hosea 14.2 : 14.13. *F* [Verse number in Vulgate is 3.]

883 *mg.* Heb. 13. : Heb. 14. *F*

945 *generation;* that is, rich . . . times; : *generation,* that is; rich . . . times, *F*

999 *mg.* *Rex* : *Rev F*

1003 head, : head; *F*

1021, 1029, 1039 sense . . . sense . . . sense : sence . . . sence . . . sence *F*

1031 friends : frinds *F*

1051 *mg.* 1 Reg. 10.8. : 1 Reg. 10.9. *F*

1061–1062 Israel, *and* Jacob, *and the seed of* Abraham *my friend* : *Israel,* and *Jacob,* and the seed of *Abraham my friend F*

1065 Abraham : *Abraham* F

1084, 1086, 1090 *Ragnah Edd. conj.* : *Nagnah F, Al*

NOTE. In line 1099, where the word occurs still again, *F* prints "Dagnah." (*Al* follows *F.*) The Hebrew word of which Donne was thinking must have been רֵעָה. Transliteration of the Ăyin as "gn" is conceivable, though inaccurate; and Donne may have confused the vowels, using a Hebrew text without points. The consonants "D" and "N" in *F* appear inexplicable, however, except as misprints.

1109 King! *F corr.* : Kings [with a turned "!"] *F originally*

1117–1118 *The King . . . friend* : The King . . . friend *F*

1124 suitors : suiters *F*

1127 Pureness : Purenss *F*

1130 King : king *F*

1139 *mg.* *Offic.* 1.2.12. : *Offic.* 1.2.22. *F*

1200 way) : way.) *F*

1257 recognitions : recognitious *F*

1281 *Nihil* : *nihil F*

1298 *mg.* Judg. 14.14. : Judg. 14.24. *F*

1348 confess : confers *F*

1356 Majesty, (for : Majesty (for, *F*

1361 subject, : subject *F*

LINE

1393 *mg.* Ezra 4,14. : Ezra 4.24. *F*
1453 *mg.* John 15.15. : John 15.14. *F*

Notes to Sermon No. 4

36 thoughts : thoughths *F*
45 coveraling] covercling *Al*
NOTE. Alford's conjectural emendation seems rather far-fetched. Donne is not likely to have said, "We cover it, with ... some hopes of covercling [i.e., covering] it." "Coveraling" might be a misprint or miscopying of "concealing"; but this conjecture is uncertain.
85 sins. Whilst : sins; whilst *F*
86 simple, : simple. *F*
162 men *Edd. conj.* : man *F, Al*
175 *mg.* Psal. 76. 8. : Psal. 76. 9. *F*
262 Doctrines : Doctrine *F*
274 be not : be but *F*
310 kalaph]
NOTE. The Hebrew text of Psalms reads חֲלִיפוֹת; of Job (14.14), חֲלִיפָתִי.
328 *bis Al* : *hic F*
336 themselves : themselvs *F*
374 *mg.* Esai. 11.2. : Esai. 11.3. *F*
379 is : his *F*
401 *mg.* Psal. 34.11. : Psal. 33. *F* [verse 12 in Vulgate]

Notes to Sermon No. 5

[NOTE. This is the one sermon in the present volume that appears in the newly discovered Ellesmere Manuscript (*E*). (See Editors' Note at end of Preface, *ante*.) The variants in *E*, for this sermon, have been considered in preparing the text, and are noted below in this critical apparatus.]

LINE

1 and the] and *M, E*
2 penning] opening *E*
4 Courts] Court *E*
8 they had] they *M, E*
10 contemplation] Contemplations *E*
11 subject] subjects *M, E*

LINE

11 occasion] occasions *M, E*
12 affection] affections *M, E*
13 sinfully] sensually *E*
21 servant] Steward *E*
23 seals] Seale *E*
27 and applying] and on applying *E*
33–34 too, which . . . addicted unto *E* : to which . . . addicted to *F*
36 upon him] *om. E*
38 thereupon] therefore *M, E*
40 suffering] sufferings *M, E*
45 and a] and *M, E*
45 into *M, E* : in *F*
46–47 applications] approbations *M*
48 Epithalamions : Epithalamians *F*
49 and between God] and God *M, E*
53 to enjoy] enjoy *M*
56 for that] for it *M, E*
57 we are as good as if we were without it *M* : we were as good as we were *F* : we were as good we were without it *E*
59 to love and to enjoy] *om. M, E*
60 *mg.* *August E* (*F* wrongly places this reference opposite line 52)
61 tooke *E* : take *F*
61 and in being] and being *M, E*
63 far, *E* : far; *F*
65–66 I had . . . desir'd *E* : *I had . . . desir'd F*
67 *suspicionis*] *suspicionum E*
72 *mg.* *Divisio* : *Devisio F, E*
81 bond] band *M, E*
82 *I love . . . me E* : I love . . . me *F*
88 her self] itself *E*
92 *increata*] moveata *M*
93 it be] *om. E*
93 vertue *M, E* : *om. F*
94 that great] the great *E*
101 over again] over *M, E*
109 Chapter] Charge *M*
110 *She crieth . . . voice E* : she crieth . . . voice *F*
113 *his wrath was kindled E* : his wrath was kindled *F*
113–114 and grievously kindled] *om. E*

LINE

114 only there *E* : only their *F*

114–116 NOTE. This is a puzzling statement, for which the Hebrew text gives no warrant. Perhaps Donne had in mind that in *Num.* 11.12 Moses speaks of *himself* as if he were feminine: "Have I conceived all this people?" The marginal reference in *M* is *Num.* 11.19, not 11.15; but verse 19 is even more obviously inapplicable than verse 15. *E* has "Nomb: 11."

116 Iratam] Natam *M* : *iratum E*

117 is in this love] is this lover *M, E*

118 sexes, man] sexes of man *M, E*

123 is not so] that is not soe *M*

130 Christ and our selves] Christ and our soules *M, E*

133 writes to *E* : writs too *F*

134 one he] one that he *M, E*

139 them with *M, E* : them to *F*

140 familiarity : familarity *F*

141 *mg.* Ose. 2.19. : Ose. 2.14. *F*

144 *dixi E* : *dixit F*

145 I have said you are Gods] *om. M, E*

148 their] these *M, E*

149 *mine*] my *M, E*

150 *mine E* : my *M* : *mine own F*

151 To contract this, the *M, E* : To conclude this *F*

153 but first] and *M* : first *E*

154 person] persons *M*

154 *mg.* The Affection] Amor *M, E*

157 Scriptures : sctiptures *F*

159 Scripture *E* : scripture *F*

160–161 Scripture : scripture *F*

162 affections] affection *M, E*

163 and not *amavit*] *om. M, E*

164 *Canticles,* : *Cant. F*

164–165 *well-beloved*] beloved *M*

167 *Proverbs,* : *Pro. F*

170 pure, a] pure, *M* : pure, and *E*

170 and an] and *M, E*

179 in the Text] *om. M, E*

182 his creatures] creatures *M, E*

187 a greater rent *M, E* : greater cent *F.*

LINE

188 fruites *M, E* : fruit *F*
189 is *velle*] is a *velle M, E*
190 shall doubt] can doubt *M, E*
191 merit] Merritts *E*
193 this world] the world *E*
193 heathen) *E* : heathen *F*
194 therein; *E* : therein) *F*
197 but that he that hath] that he hath *E*
200 love] loves *M, E*
201 And that is] and it is *M, E*
202 now in our order] orderlye *M, E*
202–203 *them that love me. M, E* : *them, &c. F*
204 *love M* : *loves F, E*
204 *mg.* Mutual.] Mutuus *M, E*
204–205 saies the Apostle] *om. M, E*
207 passes on] passes out *M*
210 inhumanity *E* : in humanity *F*
210 not to be entendred] not be entendred *M*
210–211 toward those things which God hath *Edd. conj.* : to wear those things which God hath *F, Al* : which hath *M, E*
NOTE. The reading of *M* and *E*, which obviously makes no sense, seems clearly the result of a failure to make out an illegible source—probably the same illegibility that resulted in the curious reading of *F*.
212 bottome] bottomes *M, E*
212 *mg.* Rom. 1.31 : Rom. 1.30 *F, E* : Rom: 11.10 *M*
213 to be . . . affections] *to be without natural affections E*
225 enough; yea : enough yea; *F* : enough) yea, *E*
231–232 that's our : that' sour *F*
233 sake; if] sake; and if *M, E*
234 ones selfe *M, E* : our selves *F*
238 treason we] treason that we *M, E*
238 of the] in the *E*
239 creatures] creature *M, E*
239 the love of] *om. E*
240 and though] though *M*
244 contentment *M, E* : contentments *F*
246 happy? *E* : happy; *F*
248 or an] or his *M, E*

LINE

249 it] of it *M*
249 or horse] or a horse *M, E*
251 such a Rider *M, E* : such Rider *F*
253 definition *E* : difinition *F*
258 that is] *om. M, E*
261 do *M* : doth *E* : be *F*
263 body] bodyes *M*
264 all men . . . one mankind] *om. M, E*
265 our Creator] one Creator *M*
267 *odisti;* : *odisti? F*
268 principally; : principally? *F*
272 *benè E* : *bonè F*
272–273 If thou . . . hate] *om. E*
274 then thou] thou *M, E*
274–275 a manifold act] an acte *M, E*
275 and love to his] and to his *M, E*
276 and love to thine] and to thine *M, E*
276–277 virtue and thy example hath declined, and kept from offending his] virtue hath declined, from that which kept him from his *M* : vertue hath declined and kept from his *E*
279 any thing] any affection *M*
279–280 to any . . . rather than] *om. E*
284 or some] of some *M, E*
285 actions, and] actions, yea and *M, E*
286 can object nothing] cannot object anythinge *M, E*
286 it, when we] it, yea when we *M*
294 as a cause] as the cause *M*
300 fruit] Fruites *E*
301 wither in us] wither towards us *M, E*
302 saies God] said God *M*
303–304 love . . . love . . . love *E* : lov . . . lov . . . lov *F*
304 us. : us *F*
306 to us] towards us *M, E*
312 his own heat] his heat *M, E*
313 the sweetness thereof] his sweetnes *M* : the sweetnes *E*
317 this was] was *M, E*
319–320 They have taken] *om. M, E*
321 NOTE. The use of "to" in this line is not clear, and may be an error, perhaps for "in." In *E*, "to" has been corrected from some earlier reading.

LINE

337 *Lord; Edd. conj.* : Lord, *E* : *Lord. F*
338 but the *Abjecerunt* is desperate] this Abiecerunt [abijcierunt *E*] is dangerous *M, E*
NOTE. *F* does not capitalize *Abjecerunt.*
341 time *E* : tyme. *M* : sin *F*
343 and lost . . . City] *om. E*
345 journey : journy *F*
347 when as his] when his *M, E*
351–352 to look forward] forward *M, E*
357 when] where *M*
362 and seek him with a] with *M, E*
363 begun] begine *M* : begyn *E*
363 *Tulerunt*] Tulerant *M*
364 *Abjecerunt* : *abjecerunt F*
365 where to find] *om. E*
366 find him] find *M, E*
367 Religion] Noe Religion *M*
370 Apostles, *F corr.* : Apostles. *F originally*
371 we have found the Messias] *om. M, E*
371 that he] he *M*
372 *mg.* Jo. 1.42. : Jo. 1.34. *F, E*
375 where *M, E* : when *F*
375 *mg.* Deut. 30.11] Deut: 10:11 *M* : Deu. 10. *E*
376 God, *E* : God. *F*
377 *off;* Not . . . say, : *off,* Not . . . say; *F*
378 Seas] Sea *M, E*
380 neer thee] neere *M, E*
386 first made] made at first *M, E*
386 where] when *M*
393 utter her] utter a *M*
393 where : wher- *F*
395 God] good *M*
397 or in] in *M, E*
398 stations *M, E* : Nations *F*
400 may easily be] easye to be *M, E*
405 also *E* : all so *F*
406 religious Princes] Religion *M, E*
407 City.) *Edd. conj.* : City) *F, Al*
408 diversions *M* : diversion *E* : directions *F*
408 but yet] but *M, E*

LINE

410 and he] he *M*
411 Now] *om. M, E*
413 a pretender] that a pretender *M, E*
421 *mg.* *Quaerere*] Qirere *M* : *Querere E*
422 that] that the *M, E*
425 afterward . . . Gospel *M, E* : *om. F*
426 cries] sayes *M* : saieth *E*
426 that is, It was] that as it, was *M*
427 to say] as to saye *M*
427 *mg.* Esay 65.1 *M, E* : *om. F*
428 and] and a *M, E*
432 First seek the Kingdom of God] *om. M, E*
433 that we should] to *M, E*
435 it] him *M, E*
437 *Quærite*] Querite *M*
437 *vivetis*] vinctis *M*
437–438 Seek . . . live] *om. M, E*
438 we were] we are *M, E*
439 it is a promise] it is promise *M* : it is promised *E*
441 *mg.* Early] Marie *M* : *om. E*
441 there] here *E*
441 *Auroram*] Aurorum *M*
442–443 of any action] *om. M, E*
445 *Aurorantes*] Amorantes *M, E*
447 thoughts, *E* : thoughts *F*
449 *vigilaverint*] vigelauermt *M*
459 and he] he *M*
460 when : when when *F*
463 marring *M, E* : marriage *F*
467 was more] is more *M*
470 besieged] be-sett *E*
476 *diligebat*] *diregebat E*
478 when : wen *F*
478 him? : him; *F*
480 might bring] bringes *M*
483 Church, : Church *F*
486 a plant] plant *M, E*
492 condemned *M, E* : condemnable *F*
493 dough] doung *E*
494 all : al *F*

LINE

496 the book] that book *M, E*
498 this world] the world *M*
502 vacuity] vacancye *M, E*
504 him? : him. *F*
510 all] to all *M, E*
514 irrecoverably] irrevocably *E*
515 will : wil *F*
516 toll] Knoll *E*
519 of the Chaldeans] of them *M, E*
519 *mg.* Esay 47. : Esay 46. *F, E*
526 there is] yet there is *E*
529 the first] in the first *E*
533 *mg.* Psal. 32.6] Ocea 32:6: *M* : Ose. 32.6 *E*

Notes to Sermon No. 6

107 work upon, : work, upon *F*
192 *mg.* Blasphemy : Blaspemy *F*
197 *mg.* Mat. 27.44. : Mat. 27. 4.3. *F*
273 Kingdome;) : Kingdome; *F*
279 *cœpit* : *cæpit F*
282 *Memento* : *Momento F*
346 *mg.* Psal. 34.11. : Psal. 11.10 *F*

NOTE. The reference in *F* is obviously impossible. The "fear of God" is referred to frequently enough in the Psalms to make any correction uncertain. Psalm 34.11 seems on the whole the most likely verse for Donne to have had in his mind here.

348 this Primitive *F corr.* : this Primitive, *F originally*
368 *mg.* Mat. 27.39. : Mat. 27. 38. *F*
386 *mg.* Luke 23. 35. : Luke 23. 24. *F*
444 *mg.* Gen. 20.11. : Gen. 20.9. *F*
508 *Paul* : *Peter* F

NOTE. The error in *F* is presumably that of a copyist. Some intermediate MS may have had "St. P," and the next scribe may have expanded wrongly.

526–527 *The Lord . . . sin* : The Lord . . . sin *F*
539 (who, though *Edd. conj.* : who (though *F* : who (though . . . it not,) *Al*
554 *omni* : *omnis* F

NOTE. Donne is quoting, loosely, Publius Syrus, probably from Seneca's citation of the phrase, in *De Tranquillitate,* XI. 8.

Notes to Sermon No. 7

LINE

25 race, : race *F*

28 Lord, : Lord *F*

30 *kindred;* : *kindred, F*

34–35 *For I . . . the Children* : for I . . . the Children *F*

38. grateful : gratful *F*

40–43 *I . . . I . . . I* : I . . . I . . . I *F*

45 prayers, : prayers *F*

48 slacknes to whom we speak, : slacknes, to whom we speak *F*

51 benefits. : benefits *F*

51–52 but *katon, parvus sum, Impar sum* : *but katon, parvus sum Impar Sum F*

63–65 *in Spe . . . in Re* : in *Spe* . . . in *Re F*

72–73 *I . . . I* : I . . . I *F*

73 Jordan : *Jordan F*

74 *for* : for *F*

92 there : their *F*

93 their : there *F*

94 *non tanquam* : *no tnanquam F*

102 ff. NOTE. The sense of this sentence would be clearer if semicolons rather than commas were placed after *more, crosses,* and *under it.* Nevertheless, the punctuation in *F* indicates a kind of breathless intensity in the sentence, and may well be the author's intention; therefore it is left unchanged.

103 *mg.* Mat. 10. : Mat. 13. *F*

106 if we follow a wrong

NOTE. *F,* through an obvious printer's (possibly copyist's) error, repeats after *if,* and before *we,* the preceding phrase, "we take . . . not follow, or if."

111 *mg.* Luk. 20.35. : Luk. 23.25. *F*

121 shalt be truly : shall be truly *F*

125 *Elil.*

NOTE. The Folio reading undoubtedly meant to be transliteration of a form of the Hebrew word אֵל.

129 exhibit *Edd. conj.* : exhibites *F, Al*

133–134 Here's . . . here's : Her's, . . . her's *F*

134 *sumus,* : *sumus; F*

LINE

150 *sum* : *snm F*

157 best and greatest growth, : best, and greatest growth *F*

159 life : lif *F*

164 *beasts* : *beast F*

179 but : bnt *F*

179 what's : whats *F*

181 *irreprehensibile* : *irreprehensible F*

183 men truly men, : men, truly men *F*

188 *in . . . in* : in . . . in *F*

205 lump *Edd. conj.* : lap *F*

221–222 *in miserationibus . . . in veritate* : in *miserationibus* . . . in *veritate F*

229 to : too *F*

229 *Misericordia præsumit* : *Miserecordia presumit F*

241 mankind : mankiud *F*

245 promises, for : promises for, *F*

263 rods : rodds *F*

265–266 *germinabit,* His rod should bud forth; but when *Moses* : *germinabit:* His rod should bud forth, but when *Moses; F*

266 look : loock *F*

270 fourth : forth *F*

278 *in veritate* : in *veritate F*

279 performances? : performances. *F*

295 *expectavi* : *expectam F*

NOTE. *Al* conjectures *"expectabo."* But cf. Vulgate, "Exspectans exspectavi Dominum"; and *-vi* in a MS could easily be misread as *-m*.

296 know : know, *F*

302 particular, *F corr.* : particular *F originally*

305–307 shew . . . shew *F corr.* : show . . . show *F originally*

308 encourage *F corr.* : enconrage *F originally*

309 shew it *F corr.* : show it *F originally*

311 shewed *F corr.* : showed *F originally*

318 *mg.* 1 Chron. 29.14. : 1 Cro. 29.24. *F corr.* : 1 Cor. 29.24. *F Originally*

318 *strength F corr.* : *strengths F originally*

318 *I,* said *David* : I *said* David *F*

319–320 *after this sort? All . . . given thee* : after this sort: all . . . given thee *F* [sort: *F corr.* : sort, *F originally*]

LINE

320 thee. Why *F corr.* : thee, why *F originally*
324 God, *F corr.* : God; *F originally*
324 stewards, *F corr.* : stewards *F originally*
325 shewed *F corr.* : showed *F originally*
331 there *F corr.* : here *F originally*
334 Gods *F corr.* : Gods, *F originally*
339–340 *compedite, F corr.* : *compedite F originally*
340 *Domino & vertentur F corr.* : *duo, & vertentus F originally*
341 fortune, terrifie thee; *F corr.* : fortune; terrifie thee, *F originally*
342 collars, and garters *F corr.* : colars, and garthers *F originally*
343 thee: *F corr.* : thee, *F originally*
344 *I am* : I *am F*
346 Jordan : *Jordan F*
346–347 *I . . . I* : I . . . I *F*
348 *mg.* *Quia F corr.* : *Quid F originally*
350 *for* : for *F*
355 Jordan : *Jordan F*
355 *I am* : I *am F*
356 *bands.* For *F corr.* : *bands,* for *F originally*
357 towards *F corr.* : to wards *F originally*
361 soever *F corr.* : so ever *F originally*
361 *mg.* Note. The reference to *Proverbs* in *F* is correct; but part of the italicized sentence in the text of the sermon is not from *Proverbs,* but is an echo of *Psalm* 141.5.
363 Note. *F,* instead of beginning a new paragraph at this point, does so with the next sentence, beginning, "Those Sceptique Christians." *Al* follows *F.*
363 philosophers *F corr.* : phylosophers *F originally*
367 actions; *F corr.* : actions, *F originally*
368 no; *F corr.* : no, *F originally*
373 theirs; *F corr.* : theirs, *F originally*
375–376 reservation of *F corr.* : reservation, of *F originally*
377 worse; *F corr.* : worse, *F originally*
377–378 men, if *Edd. conj.* : men, who if *F, Al*
Note. The added "who" in *F* makes this long sentence completely confused grammatically, and is much more likely to be the addition of a copyist than to be Donne's own intention.
383 Recusant *F corr.* : recusant *F originally*

LINE

389–390 Countrey, *I came over* Jordan; : Countrey; *I came over Jordan, F*

402 *conjuncta* : *conjunctu F*

406 *domino* : *duo F*

408 *cogar vivere* : *cogarvicere F*

413 in *baculo* : *in baculo F*

422 *staff* : staff *F*

424 *veniam* : *vemam F*

427 *mg.* Psal. 23. : Psal. 25. *F*

430–431 *sustentatorius;* A staff . . . defence. : *sustentatorius.* A staff . . . defence; *F*

451–452 *in Baculo . . . in suo* : in *Baculo* . . . in *suo F*

452–453 own, for : own for *F*

456 staff, upon . . . relye; : staff; upon . . . relye, *F*

458 it; : it, *F*

475 this: that *is Edd. conj.* : this that is *F, Al*

NOTE. This is an obscure sentence. Perhaps "one degree" (line 474) is a copyist's error, but if so, the original word or phrase is uncertain. Possibly, too, "that is" is a misprint for "that it."

483 came, : came *F*

486–487 *Babylon,* . . . still; : *Babylon;* . . . still, *F*

488 me thou, : me, thou *F*

491–492 consider our interest in that decree, : consider, our interest, in that decree *F*

504 *mg.* *Jubente* : *Jubenre F*

507 thee. : thee, *F*

509 *Stare* : *Stre F*

NOTE. This Latin quotation must be corrupt in some way. It makes poor sense; and the context makes clear that the reference is to *Jeremiah* 6:16, where the Vulgate reads, "state super vias."

514 *Abiather F corr.* : *Ablather F originally*

519–520 *Plutarch* : *Plutrarch F*

530 discretion is . . . himselfe, : discretion, is . . . himselfe *F*

531 *Augustin,* : *Augustin F*

531 *Recta ratio* : *Rectaratio F*

534 *Jubentem Dominum* or *Dominum* : *Jubentem Dominus* or *duni F*

539–540 *Locutum,* the Mouth of the Lord hath spoken it, : *Locutum.* The Mouth of the Lord: hath spoken it *F*

LINE

541 abundant and overflowing goodness, : abundant, And overflowing goodness *F*

542–543 with the pillars *Al* : unto the pillars *F*

544 Temple . . . mysterious : temple . . . Misterious *F*

547 *ei,* : *ei. F*

548 guide : guid *F*

549 Pillar his Church, : Pillar, his Church *F*

550 onely *Ephod, F corr.* : onely *Ephod F originally*

553 was returned, *F corr.* : was, returned *F originally*

554 Commandement; *F corr.* : Commandements; *F originally*

555 testified *F corr.* : Testified *F originally*

555 Angels, and . . . manifested; *F corr.* : Angels; and . . . manifested, *F originally*

557 Here's *F corr.* : Heres *F originally*

558 far his *F corr.* : far h is *F originally*

559 *bread F corr.* : *hread F originally*

559 *I* : I *F*

560 *safety F corr.* : safty *F originally*

563 wives *F corr.* : wifes *F originally*

564 him, *F corr.* : him; *F originally*

566–567 hundred *F corr.* : hnndred *F originally*

568 spirituall: *F corr.* : spiritualll *F originally*

569 typicall : tipicall *F*

570 *mundum; F corr.* : *mundum F originally*

571 *rediit: F corr.* : *rediit F originally*

571 Cross, muster'd *F corr.* : Crose, musters *F originally*

572 Gentiles. We *F corr.* : Gentils, we *F originally*

573 literally, *F corr.* : literally; *F originally*

573 divided *F corr.* : devided *F originally*

582 states *F corr.* : staes *F originally*

583 *Orientis, F corr.* : *Orientis F originally*

587 heart, Thirdly, *F originally* : heart, Thirdly; *F corr.*
NOTE. Here the reading on the (otherwise) uncorrected sheet of *F* seems decidedly the better.

588 returns *F corr.* : retnrns *F originally*

Notes to Sermon No. 8

10 question. : question, *F*

10 *collocutio* : *collucutio F*

LINE

16 form *Al* : former *F*
21 *ut pateretur* : *& pateretur F*
26 *Joshuah's* : *Jofuah's F*
41 it? : it. *F*
50 sinners. : sinners, *F*
76 too : to *F*
80 Save; and : Save, and *F*
81 limbs : lymbs *F*
88 chiefest. : chiefest, *F*
104 birth : byrth *F*
132 been *Edd. conj.* : then *F, Al*
137 Sunne *Al* : summe *F*
146 more *Edd. conj.* : men *F, Al*
170 concinnity *Edd. conj.* : consinuity *F, Al*
201 *Let there be a sea* : *Let* there be a sea *F*
206 launched [in] *Edd. conj.* : launched *F, Al*
NOTE. Perhaps a whole phrase is missing between "launched" and "the"; but what this phrase was seems impossible to conjecture with any certainty.
206 this: : this *F*
210–211 vails; . . . word, : vails, . . . word; *F*
227 *sermone,* : *sermone F*
231 pædagogie : pœdagogie *F*
248 languages, : languages; *F*
250 *Chrysostom,* : *Chrys. F*
262 doe by his grace, : doe, by his grace *F*
263 *sunt, Edd. conj.* : *sunt*) *F, Al*
263 for : fot *F*
265 Christ) *Edd. conj.* : Christ; *F, Al*
272–278 NOTE. The phases within parentheses are obscure in meaning, and the text is probably corrupt. Any emendation would, however, be purely conjectural.
277 Christian : christian *F*
285 selves, no : selves no *F*
291 then [so *F*. The word makes sense, but it may nevertheless be a printer's or copyist's error, for "that."]
326 servant : seruant *F*
332 birth : byrth *F*
349 whole Gospell : whol Gospell *F*

LINE

354 rewards : reward *F*

357 *mg.* 1 Tim. 3.1. : I Tim. 3.5. *F*

381 *mg.* Esai. 55.3. : Esai. 55.3.15.11. *F*

NOTE. The numerals "15.11." are mistakenly attached to this marginal reference. They refer to the passage quoted from Jeremiah in the succeeding sentence.

381 *misericordias* : *miserecordias F*

386 *mg.* Jer. 15.18. : 15.11. *F* [attached to preceding reference. See note above, to line 381 *mg.*]

403 looke : look'd *F*

409 close : closs *F*

431 forbid: : forbid, *F*

442 *mg.* Psal. 33. *Edd. conj.* : Psal. 31. *F*

443 *mg.* Rom. 3.4 : Rom. 3.9. *F*

450 emergencies; . . . *stantibus,* : emergencies, . . . *stantibus; F*

474 comprehend: : comprehend, *F*

475 words, : words: *F*

494 Alcoran : Alcaron *F* [cf. "Alcoran," the spelling of *F* in line 488]

501 *Antiquissimum Ed. conj.* : *Antiquistrum F, Al*

505 NOTE. Some words are unquestionably missing between "shall" and "alwaies." The phrase "it be" seems the simplest conjectural addition that makes sense. (*Al* follows *F* here.)

512 peace; : peace,; *F*

513 kingdom; : kingdom, *F*

515 Gospell; : Gospell, *F*

522 conversation: : conversation:: *F*

542 *mg.* Rom. 12.1. : Rom. 1.12. *F corr.* : *om. F originally*

543 *holy,* : *holy F*

554 Scripture. The : Scripture, the *F*

Notes to Sermon No. 9

H'd'g. April 19. 1618. *F corr.* : April 2. 1621. *F originally*

2 That : That, *F*

3 *Gospell* : *Cospell F*

14 Act; : Act, *F*

14 Decree, : Decree; *F*

16 Messiah, : Messiah; *F*

LINE

23 *Michæas* : *Michæas, F*

27 so that his *Edd. conj.* : so that by his *F, Al*

NOTE. As it stands in *F,* this clause makes no sense. Our omission of "by" seems the simplest means of clarifying it. But perhaps what happened was that a phrase or whole line (beginning with the word "his") was accidentally omitted between the "by" and "his" of *F,* through homoioteleuton. (*Al* follows F, here.)

48 acknowledg : ackowledg *F*

56 presentially : pretentially *F*

61 take *Edd. conj.* : to be *F, Al*

67 presentiall : pretentiall *F*

86 of : off *F*

101 willingly : willngly *F*

107 *Augustine,* : *August. F*

109 or : ot *F*

113 *Aquinas* : *Aquinus F*

122 with *Al* : what *F*

134 *veniet* : *venit F*

136 *venit,* : *venit F*

138 that in *F corr.* : that that in *F originally*

160 Christ : Chtist *F*

166 death, : death *F*

180 eternity, : eternity *F*

182 or of *Edd. conj.* : or if *F, Al*

187 that coming *Edd. conj.* : it coming *F, Al* [In MSS, "yt" and "yᵗ" (i.e., "that") are easily confused.]

189 Kings, : Kings; *F*

192 seeing *Al* : seen *F*

193 *day,* saith : *day* saith *F*

199 Patriarks : Partriarks *F*

204 NOTE. The text of *1 John* reads "life," not "light," in all versions of the Bible. Either Donne's memory played him a trick, or he considered either word to have the same meaning in the context.

206 *Simeon* : *Simon F*

208 *mg.* Luke 2. 29. : Luk. 2. 19. *F*

217 Christs : Christ *F*

219 Messias : Missias *F*

241 *Islands* . . . Islands : *Island* . . . Island *F*

241 *rejoyce,* : *rejoyce F*

LINE

255–256 be come : become *F*
261 eyes : eye *F*
268 person : person, *F*
290 have *Edd. conj.* : had *F, Al*
297 fitness to save the world, : fitness, to save the wotld *F*
308 implyed *Edd. conj.* : imployed *F*
315 ability, by one act : ability by one act, *F*
316 that had *Edd. conj.* : they had *F, Al*
320 *in pacto* : in *pacto F*
327 not : nor *F*
332 garments : garment *F*
348 execution : cxecution *F*
361 *Chrysostom,* : *Chrysost. F*
375 of : of, *F*
380 And : and *F*
380 *Cyril* : *Cyril. F*
391 people; : people, *F*
392 attributed to . . . before, : attribu-/ to . . . before; *F*
421 *adhibitur* : *adhibitus F*
436 run; *F corr.* : run, *F originally*
441 *taught* : *sought F*
441 *go* : *go,; F*
444–446 their understanding, and he rectified their will; but still their understanding, and their will. I drew them saies God there; *F corr.* : their understanding, . . . still their understanding and . . . God there; *F semicorrected* : their understanding, . . . still their understanding and their will I draw them saies God their; *F semicorrected* : their understanding, and he rectified their will saies God their; *F originally*
461 *ille de ipso san-/ guine medicamenta F corr.* : *ille deipso san-/ guine medicamenta F semicorrected* : *ille de ipso san-/ gine medciamenta F originally*
468 drawing; *F corr.* : drawing, *F originally*
471 assurance *F corr.* : assurance, *F originally*
476 that's : thats *F*
477 *mg.* Rom. 3. : Rom. 2. *F*
500 *perfectius* : *perfective F*
513 will *Edd. conj.* : which *F, Al*
515 *Augustine,* : *August. F*

LINE

521 *malum* : *molum F*

533 sow'd it, : sow'd it; *F*

542 conscience; : conscience, *F*

544 precipitation: : precipitation *F*

560 saved, : saved *F*

594 slaughter : slaugher *F*

599 negligences : negliences, *F*

611 *in quovis* : in *quovis F*

612 thou *Edd. conj.* : thus *F, Al*

620 (for *Al* : for *F*

620 wealth *Edd. conj.* : wrath *F, Al*

NOTE. The scribe's eye was presumably caught by the "wrath" nine words further on in the text.

635 *primus* : *prmus F*

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